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PRIMITIVE ECONOMICS OF THE NEW ZEALAND MAORI

THE PASSING OF THE OLD ORDER

Wairaka Te Kiore steps at Otamatea into the sport and form of former days.

PRIMITIVE ECONOMICS

OF THE

NEW ZEALAND MAORI

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BY

RAYMOND FIRTH

M.A. (New Zealand), Ph.D. (London)

With a Preface by

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WITH 30 ILLUSTRATIONS ON 16 PLATES AND 3 MAPS

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To

Dr Bronislaw Malinowski

Teacher and Friend

under whose *Mana* this book was written

56725

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PREFACE

By

R. H. Tawney.

THE following pages contain an account by a young New Zealand scholar of the social and economic organization of the Maori people, before that organization was transformed by contact with Western civilization—of its class structure, its land system, its industry, its methods of co-operative labour, exchange and distribution, and of the psychological foundations upon which the fabric of its social arrangements rested. In spite of the work of pioneers like Professor Hobhouse, Dr. Rivers, and Professor Malinowski, English books on the economic institutions of primitive communities are few, and books written with the imaginative insight shown by Dr. Raymond Firth are fewer still. A society, like an individual, reveals the secrets of its inner life only to those who bring to its study not merely scientific curiosity and a mastery of technique, but respect and affection. Of Dr. Firth's technical qualifications it would be presumptuous for a layman to speak. But he has evidently found in the life of the race whom he has studied a quality which not only interested him as a sociologist, but moved, and even charmed him, as a man. So his book is charming and illuminating even to one who is unversed in the controversies discussed in its opening chapter. It is a picture of a society which, within the boundaries drawn by natural resources and its own inherent limitations, had achieved a kind of simple equilibrium—a culture primitive, indeed, but yet not wholly immature, not wholly incompatible with a widespread sense of personal dignity and of collective satisfaction. What are called primitive peoples are not necessarily, it appears, uncivilized. Some of them, of whom the Maori were one, are merely peoples with a different kind of civilization.

If the only result of economic anthropology were to establish that fact, its practical importance would, nevertheless, be considerable. Though the injury caused by the application to non-European societies of the legal and economic conceptions of Western civilization is now a commonplace, there are parts of the world in which it continues almost unabated, with results

which, in the long run, are likely to be as disastrous to those who inflict it as to those on whom it is inflicted. It is the disposition of mankind, especially when it is driven by the compulsion of strong economic interests, to condemn what it does not understand, and the natural result of a failure to grasp the economic psychology of races which have not been through the peculiar discipline of modern industrial societies is to cause those who have to bring against them charges of precisely the same kind as were brought against the working-classes in Europe itself in the age when that discipline was not yet firmly established—to lead them to denounce " the natives " as idle, thriftless, self-indulgent, and capable of being rendered serviceable only by judicious turns of the economic screw. Such charges are, doubtless, often justified. But communities survive because of their virtues, not because of their failings, and the removal of the failings depends upon an appreciation of the virtues which is possible only to those who have penetrated the complex of beliefs, traditions and habits which finds expression in both. The layman cannot penetrate it unaided, for he does not command the resources of comparative investigation which are necessary if the riddle is to be read. If he is wise, therefore, if he desires to understand, and not merely to dominate and use, he will consult an anthropologist who has studied the economic institutions of primitive peoples. And the anthropologist, as Dr. Firth's book shows, can supply him with material and methods of interpretation, in the light of which those institutions, instead of appearing an impenetrable jungle of follies and vices, are seen to possess a significance from which he must start in his effort to improve them, if he feels called upon to attempt their improvement.

It is not only, however, its practical utility to those in contact with the economic life of primitive peoples which gives its value to a study such as that of Dr. Firth. There is also the contribution which anthropology brings to economic science, and the influence which, as a consequence, it may exercise upon thought concerning the social problems and economic issues of regions less remote from Europe than Polynesia. Inference may be as exact and dispassionate as logic can make it, but it is a wise philosopher who knows the source of his own premises. Like other sciences, economic science tends normally to take for granted the assumptions from which it starts, for, unless it did so, it would find it difficult to start at all. These assumptions,

however, have not always been submitted to a very rigorous criticism. They are apt to reflect the views as to the manner in which man may be expected to behave that happen to be accepted, or rather—for they are often somewhat belated—to have been accepted, by a particular society at a particular moment; and, while the economist is aware that they are provisional and abstract, the publicist who popularizes him not seldom treats them as established truths, which it is irrational, or even immoral, to question. Thus there develops a kind of economic Fundamentalism, which, like religious Fundamentalism, preserves itself from mental disturbance by wearing blinkers, and is sometimes indignant at the discoveries reported and scepticisms hinted by those who allow their eyes to rove over a wider field. It regards the institutions and habits of thought of its own age and civilization as in some peculiar sense natural to man, dignifies with the majestic name of economic laws the generalizations which describe the conduct of those who conform to its prejudices, and dismisses as contrary to human nature the suggestion that such conduct might be other than it is.

Economic Fundamentalism of this kind is less tyrannous than it was, but, outside the ranks of economists themselves, it is still a power. The assumption that effort is always a " cost ", and that the " motive " which causes the cost to be incurred is the desire of the individual to " satisfy his wants " ; the crude antithesis between " self-interest ", which is supposed to be all-powerful, and " altruism ", which is supposed to be weak ; the common assertion that no one will work except under the spur of immediate economic necessity, and the whole elaborate mythology of rewards and penalties which Dr. Burns, in his interesting book on *Industry and Civilization,* describes as derived from an obsolete psychology—" the psychology of the individual seeker after pleasure, whose first mental activities are regarded as the reception of certain stimuli "—how familiar it all is in current discussions of industrial policy ! And how fantastic and remote from human realities ! Dr. Firth is justified in suggesting that the wealth of new evidence offered by anthropology as to the organization and psychology of races on a different plane of economic civilization contains suggestions which even the student interested primarily in the issues presented by more advanced societies cannot afford to regard with indifference.

To understand our own problems, it is sometimes expedient to

stand outside them, in a world with different standards and presuppositions. Civilized peoples are disposed, perhaps, both to underestimate the part played by economic rationalism in primitive society, and to exaggerate that which it plays in their own. Studies such as that contained in the following pages, by correcting the first error, help indirectly to remove the second. Not that Dr. Firth restores to Polynesia the economic man who has been expelled from the textbooks of Europe. On the contrary, the whole tendency of his book is to emphasize—it is not only in dealing with the Maori that the emphasis is appropriate—how immensely more complex than is often supposed are the forces that produce the activities commonly described as economic. The life of the Maori, he insists, cannot be explained on the assumption that economic interests and needs have created their social structure. Though modified by them, that structure had biological and social foundations of its own, which fixed the channels along which economic effort should flow and determined the form which it should assume. The economic activities of the Maori were developed, in short, within a framework set by the family, the tribe, the class system, the institution of property, the powers and duties of chiefs. To isolate it from these social institutions is to give a quite abstract and misleading picture even of the economic aspects of Maori society.

It was a society, as Dr. Firth points out, which was very far from being the victim of the economic helplessness and squalor that are sometimes supposed to be the lot of all primitive communities. Nor, again, was it relieved by the wealth of its natural endowments from the necessity of strenuous labour. It was compelled by its environment to work, and it worked, on the whole, with success. Not only did it attain a high excellence in the individual craftmanship of the weaver and the carver, but it carried out considerable undertakings, for example in building, which demanded leadership and organization. What were the forces which made possible the comparatively high standard of life which it attained? They were partly economic, in the narrowest and most limited sense of the term: food must be secured, and birds must be snared and fish caught in order to provide it. But the economic motive was intertwined with motives which were social and religious, and if the Maori, like Europeans, worked in order to satisfy hunger, the manner in which he worked, and the co-operation with his fellows on which the result of his

work depended, were determined less by his own expectation of the gain to be secured than by the pressure of the community to which he belonged. "Social motives," writes Dr. Firth, "formed the great spur to individual action." By "social motives" he means, as he explains, the influence of tradition, of religious sanctions, of emulation and the desire for prestige, of pride in achievement and pleasure in work, of the public condemnation of idleness and public recognition of useful achievement. Thus effort directed to economic ends derived its vigour and achieved its success partly, he seems to suggest, from the fact that, at the moment when it was being undertaken, the considerations impressed on the minds of participants were not purely, or even primarily, economic. It was at once intensified and lightened by the social ritual surrounding it, and by the emotions which that ritual evoked.

It was the fashion among some writers in the eighteenth century to use pictures of the imaginary felicity of primitive races as a vehicle for criticisms upon contemporary European civilization. It was the fashion among some writers in the nineteenth to describe such races as separated from civilized man by an impassable gulf. Dr. Firth, as becomes a scientist, is as free from the one illusion as from the other. The people whom he describes with so much sympathy, yet with so much realism, appear, after all, to have been neither noble savages nor inhuman brutes, but men; and, if their differences from man as he is known to the Western world of to-day are significant and instructive, it is partly, at least, because in so much they are seen to have resembled him. Of those who reveal new affinities between different branches of the human family we are all the debtors. One who has been charmed and enlightened by Dr. Firth's book may be allowed to confess that the sentiment uppermost in his mind, as he lays it down, is the desire that an equally gifted Maori anthropologist should write an equally faithful account of the people of Great Britain.

R. H. Tawney.

INTRODUCTION

THE Maori people are honourably known far outside the confines of their New Zealand home. Acknowledged to be one of the finest of the native races within the British Empire they have long been celebrated for their splendid physical appearance, their proud bearing, their aristocratic spirit, their fluent oratory and above all for their prowess in war. The untiring defence of their ingeniously constructed earthwork strongholds against superior numbers of British troops in the middle decades of the last century wrung a tribute of admiration even from their enemy. The warlike habits of the people have coloured even the prosaic ethnographic accounts of their customs and history. Tales of battle, cannibalism, murder, heroic defence and all the other ingredients incident to relentless tribal feuds dominate the scene, and tend to overshadow their more substantial achievements in the field of industry and art. Yet the Maori in peace is of no less interest than the Maori in war.

One of the fundamental bases of primitive culture is its economic organization, which provides the medium whereby food, clothing, shelter, tools and objects of wealth of less utilitarian kind are secured to the service of man. It is the problems of this aspect of life which form the theme of the present book.

My aim has been to bridge in some measure the gap between economics and anthropology. While this volume is primarily a monograph dealing with the institutions of a single native people it also raises and discusses a number of problems of general theory, and though making no pretence of offering an ultimate solution, points to valid conclusions in the Maori field and thus suggests significant lines of enquiry.

The opening chapter indicates the scope of primitive economics, giving a review of the principal contributions which have been made to the subject and a critical estimate of the methods employed by various writers. It is not without interest for social science to note that, with one or two brilliant exceptions, this work stands to the credit of German scholars. This chapter provides also a general introduction to the analysis of economic

problems in their specific Maori setting. The intensive study of the remainder of the book not only ensures that the picture of the native life in its work-a-day aspect shall be as complete as possible but also allows due weight to be given to other factors, such as modes of kinship grouping, religious ideas and magic rites, which, though certainly not economic, have an influence on every practical activity.

The first plan of this book embraced a study of the economic organization of Polynesian society as a whole. The decision to concentrate upon the Maori field alone was prompted partly by the recognition of the advantages of greater specialization, partly by the distinct interest which I have taken for some years past in the native people of New Zealand, and very largely by the unique value of the original sources of information at command. Not only has a somewhat exceptional mass of ethnographic material been accumulated during the century of European contact with the Maori, but of this the major portion has been collected entirely through the medium of the native tongue. Anthropologists will appreciate the significance of this fact. It is my hope that this book, through its extensive bibliography and selective handling of sources, may be of use in drawing attention to the peculiar quality of the data available in Maori literature to the studuent of primitive man. It is interesting to note in passing that the Maori do not seem to have indulged in the variety of eccentric customs which characterize so many other native peoples. Apart from a somewhat exaggerated respect for magic and the powers of the priesthood, a broadminded tendency to classify all their cousins as brothers, and a certain lack of refinement in their cannibalistic practices, they led a surprisingly normal type of existence. It is beyond our thesis to speculate on the extent to which this primitive normality may be correlated with the thoroughness of the field-work record. The works of Grey, Colenso, Stack, Wohlers, W. E. Gudgeon, and S. Percy Smith in past years, the unrivalled research of Mr Elsdon Best, the lexicographical studies of Archdeacon H. W. Williams and the more recent socio-technological investigations of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr P. H. Buck) provide a body of field-work material, which, despite inevitable lacunae, especially in the sphere of social organization, forms a solid basis for theoretical treatment. As the Bibliography shows, moreover, members of the Maori people have themselves contributed quite

materially to this record, more particularly in the provision of a number of interesting native texts. My own acquaintance with the people and their language, slight as it is, in comparison, has perhaps assisted me to preserve details in their correct perspective and to avoid the more egregious of those distorted impressions which a study of purely literary sources is bound to produce.

RAYMOND FIRTH.

OTARA, OTAHUHU,
NEW ZEALAND.
27*th April*, 1928.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS book owes much to friends on both sides of the world. To Mr Elsdon Best, *doyen* of Maori ethnography, my initial thanks are due, not only for the careful, voluminous and most valuable records of native life which he has made available to the student in his long series of published papers, but also for the personal interest which he has always taken in my work since I directed to him the first anthropological enquiries of my prentice years. I take the greater pleasure in this acknowledgment since I find myself hardly able to accept his theoretical interpretation of data bearing on several important features of Maori social organization. To Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr P. H. Buck) I am indebted for early stimulus and encouragement, as also to Mr H. D. Skinner. To Mr George Graham, who has been indefatigable in supplying me with memoranda, drawn from his long experience of native custom, in response to my queries on various aspects of social organization, I owe a deep obligation.

While in London I benefited greatly by my studies under Professor C. G. Seligman and Professor B. Malinowski, and experienced from them much kindness which was by no means confined to the lecture room. My thanks are due to Mr E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Mr I. Schapera, and other friends who read portions of the manuscript and offered suggestive criticism. To Miss C. H. Wedgwood, lecturer in Anthropology in the University of Sydney, I am indebted for several drawings, and to Mr Robert Falla and Mr. Edgar Burton, of Auckland, companions on a memorable walking-tour through the Urewera district, for several of the photographs used in illustration. I have also to thank Mr Richard Fletcher, of Devonport, for allowing me to reproduce the photograph in Plate II B. To Miss Wedgwood, moreover, I am under a deep obligation for her kindness and attention in correcting the proofs of the latter part of this book. To Dr Hight, Dean of Canterbury College, I am also greatly indebted for the interest he has shown and the assistance he has so freely given in forwarding its publication.

Chapters I and IV have already been published in a somewhat abridged form, the one in *Economica* (issued by the London School of Economics and Political Science), the other in the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute, to the Editors of which I owe kind permission to reprint them. The reproduction of Plate VI, previously published in *Man*, I also owe to the courtesy of the Editor. The originals of Plates VIII B, XI, XII A, of which the photographs were obtained through the kindness of Mr H. J. Braunholtz, are in the collection of the British Museum, to the authorities of which I am indebted for permission to figure them. I am also indebted to Mr Gilbert Archey, Curator of the Auckland Museum, through whom I have been able to figure a number of specimens in the magnificent collection under his charge.

To Mr R. H. Tawney, who, with his interest in the wider human relation of economic studies, has given encouragement to the publication of this volume and has generously written the Preface, my most grateful thanks are due.

To Dr Bronislaw Malinowski it is most difficult to express my obligation. Added to the constant stimulus given by personal discussion and by his writings, his keen interest in this work has been finally responsible for its emergence. The dedication of this book to him is but a slight token of the immensity of the debt which I owe to his inspiration and friendship.

R. F.

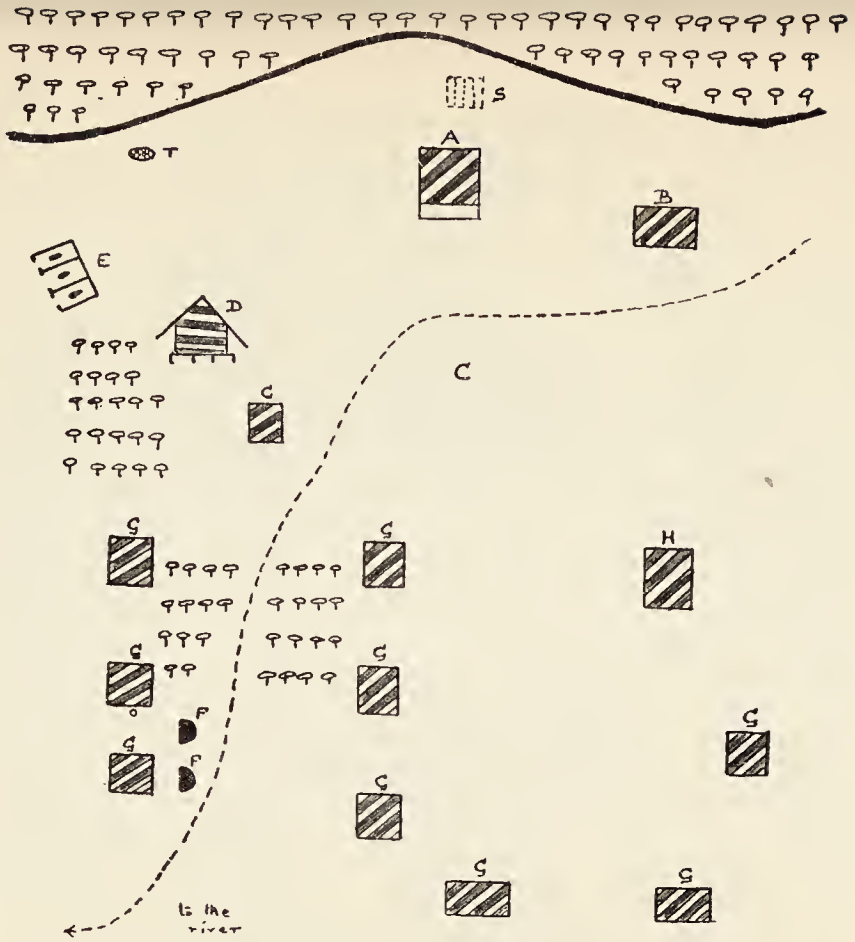


FIG. 1.—Rough Plan of a Modern Village. Approximately representing Ohaura-Te-Rangi in 1924.
A. Meeting House. B. *Whare-puni*. C. *Marae*. D. Store House. E. Cooking Sheds. F.F. Store-pits. G.G. Dwellings. H. Visitors' House. S. Ruins of old Meeting House. T. Flax-beating Stone. ---- Track to the River. φ φ φ. Cultivation Patches. ▬. Fence.

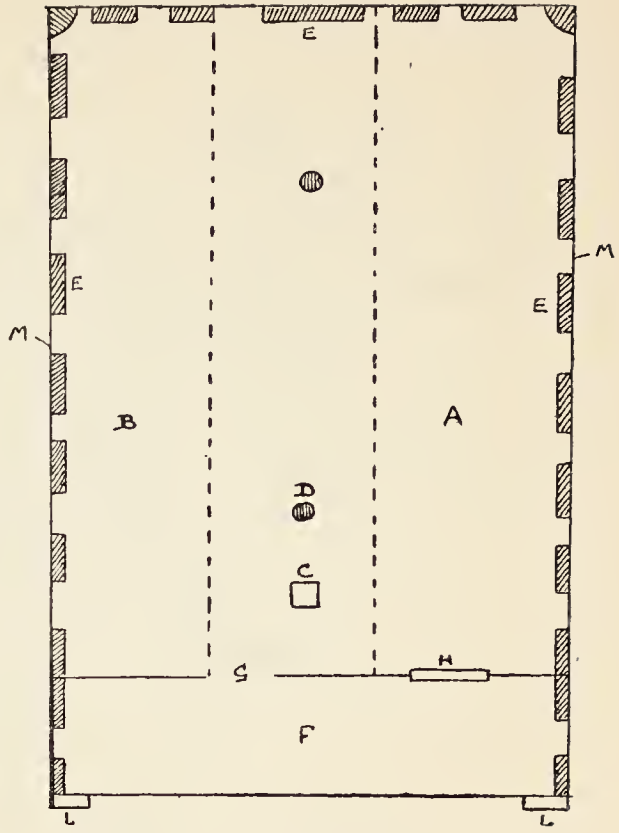


FIG. 2.—Plan of *Whare-runanga* (House of Assembly), showing principal features of interest.
A. Guest's Place. B. Host's Place. C. Fire-place. D. *Poutokomanawa*. E.E. *Poupou*. F. Porch. G. Door. H. Window. L.L. *Poutiaki*. M.M. *Tukutuku*.

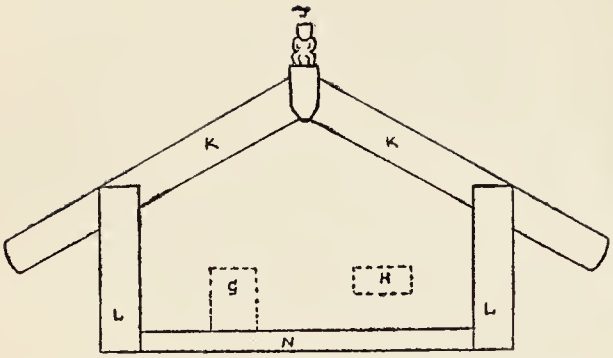


FIG. 2 (a).—Plan of Front of *Whare-runanga*.
N. Paepae kainga awha. G. Doorway. H. Window.
J. Tekoteko. KK. Maihi. LL. Poutiaki.

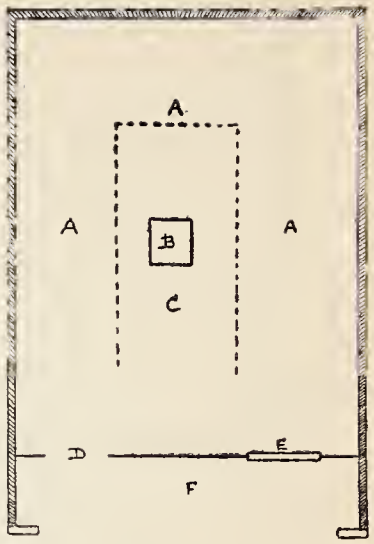
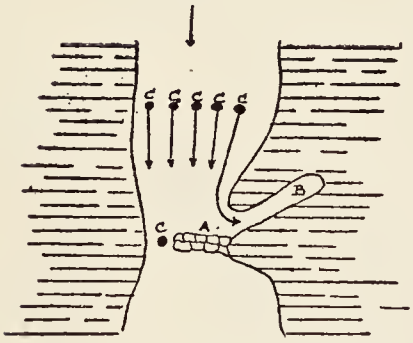


FIG. 3.—Plan of a *Whare-puni*.
(Dwelling-House.)
AA. Sleeping place. B. Fire-place. C. Central passage.
D. Door. E. Window. F. Porch.



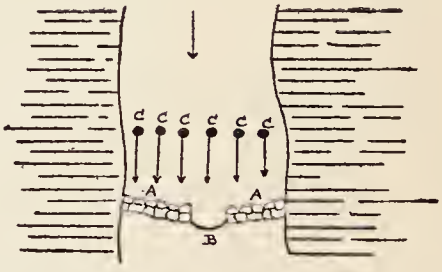


FIG. 4.—Diagrams of two methods of organized River Fishing.
A. Stone Wall. B. Channel. C.C. Fishers.
A.A. Stone Wall. B. Hoop Net. C.C. Fishers moving downstream.

Chapter I

THE STUDY OF PRIMITIVE ECONOMICS

The savage has led a chequered career in the literature of social theory since the first serious interest was taken in his mode of life. Whether idealized as a still living witness to the former Golden Age of all mankind, or stigmatized as a creature of degenerate habit, fallen from the high estate of once civilized forbears, he has been eagerly accepted by writers of every shade of scientific temper as a convenient antithesis of modern man. There are few aspects of human life and character which, at one time or another in past decades, were not denied to him. In religion, the moral sense, and the tender emotions he was alleged to be lamentably deficient, his mating was conducted in promiscuous groups, he was guided by no principles that might be termed law, but obeyed blindly the voice of custom. True economic concepts and effort were unknown to him, and he gained his subsistence after the fashion of the animal. Even at the very roots of human existence, the working of the mind, he was found to be divided from us by an impassable gulf, isolated by a plain mental inferiority, or in subtler manner, by a prelogical or paralogical mode of thought, wherein he grouped things in strange categories, moving always in a dim world of mystic participations.

One by one, however, the trappings of culture have been restored to him by more adequate research. First he has been given a religion, with many gods to make up for the one which he has lost, then a family, with affections to match, and a system of law, crude and undeveloped, but suited to his needs. Even an intelligible system of logic, by almost unanimous consent, has once again been credited to him. Incorporated in this process of rehabilitation have been notions of wealth and work. It has come to be recognized that a system of economic organization is not the specific attribute of civilized communities alone, and that ideas of value, the drives of economic effort, associated with quite complex forms of co-operation in labour and sharing of the product, are characteristic of folk of all types of culture. Thus the study of primitive economics has received its charter.

In spite of the fundamental position that economic organization occupies in primitive culture, it can hardly be said that the subject has hitherto received the attention it deserves. Its lack of cultivation is probably due to the fact that it is a border-line study between economics and anthropology, a kind of sociological no-man's land into which neither science has cared to enter. The comparatively recent development of anthropology as against economic theory has doubtless been largely responsible for this, there being for a long time no adequate body of data concerning primitive peoples which might be incorporated into the general economic doctrine. Again, it has been tacitly assumed that in any event anthropology has little to offer to economics save a few sidelights on embryonic forms of institutions. The anthropologist for his own part has been very much of the opinion that true economic principles are far too complex and abstract to be found in the social scheme of native peoples. From this lack of contact with economic theory anthropology has undoubtedly suffered, in that one great range of human phenomena has been almost wholly neglected by this science of man.

Economics, too, I venture to say, has lost somewhat by the absence of collaboration. A close study of the data provided by accounts of the life of primitive peoples would lead to the incorporation of interesting comparative material, a correction of perspective, and, it may even be, some revision of the general fundamental premises of the older science.

Primitive man has but rarely crept into the writings of the economist, except as the subject of those avowedly fictitious examples wherewith the exponent of the classical doctrine was wont to illuminate his argument. The term " primitive " or " savage " naturally conveyed the idea of simplicity, hence the institutions of the native were assumed to be the prototypes of our own, less developed, less complicated, stripped of all trappings and presenting the motive or activity in clear, bare outline. Such a convenient conception was well adapted for illustrating any point at issue. For here was a being created to order, who would balance the relative utilities of arrows and spears—or wives and cattle if need be—reason out the comparative satisfaction of work and sleep, and exchange nuts, venison, or cowhides according to the strictest Ricardian principles.[1] Such

[1] See F. A. Walker, description of the origin of capital (*Political Economy*, 2nd ed., 1887, 62 et seq.); E. C. K. Gonner, account of exchange (*Political*

simplifications of primitive man, even though he be a hypothetical one, are apt to give a false idea of the real savage and to lead astray the argument, because they neglect the full social context of economic life.

Of late the tendency of economists has been to make amends for the fantastic creations of their predecessors by ignoring the existence of primitive economics altogether. Such an attitude can be easily justified by inviting a glance at the pressing and complex problems awaiting solution in the modern industrial and commercial system. But the science thereby does lay itself open to the reproach that while formulating principles of professedly general application it is in reality concerned only with the study of the phenomena of the civilized states of the present day and of their historical antecedents. This was pointed out by Walter Bagehot in 1876 and in recent years by Sir William Ashley and R. Mukerjee. The latter, in particular, trenchantly proclaims the spurious nature of the cloak of universality worn by the current economic doctrine. This charge is not without its truth. Economics must recognize that to justify its name of science and to lay down propositions of general validity for mankind as a whole—if such be possible—it must be prepared to consider a wider range of phenomena than heretofore, to extend its concepts and inquiries to peoples in diverse parts of the world and of quite different type from those equipped with civilized institutions. Apart from theoretical interest such study has direct practical value.

For the study of primitive economics there is ample scope. Objection may be made that the economic organization of native folk is so rudimentary as to offer virtually no field for investigation. To this the few good monographs which have already been published, to mention only those of Mauss, Malinowski, and Thurnwald, are sufficient reply. They reveal that in his economic affairs the native is actuated by an extremely complex set of motives, and that his organization, far from being of the simple and straightforward type to which it is popularly ascribed, presents certain features which are both complicated in operation and difficult to analyse and understand. In fact,

Economy, 1888, 83 et seq.); W. Roscher on capital (*Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie*, 23rd ed., 1900, 564–5); A. W. Flux, exchange under primitive conditions (*Economic Principles*, 1923, 36–7, etc.). For criticism of this economic savage see Max Schmidt, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Volkswirtschaftslehre*, 1920, i, 22.; B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1922, 60–2.

a brief study of primitive economic conditions suggests an initial problem. Is not the organization of the industry of uncivilized folk so radically different from our own that quite another set of premises will be necessary in approaching the whole inquiry? A deeper analysis leaves one with the conviction that, generally speaking, such is not the case; it seems clear that much more of current economic doctrine, or at least of economic concepts, can be applied to primitive conditions than is at first realized. In fact, these latter, on investigation, are seen to display forms of institutions which we have too readily assumed to have taken their origin only in fairly modern times and in highly developed societies—such as specialization of crafts, trade, and credit. These institutions, naturally, are on a much smaller scale and less perfectly organized, but the essential nature of the phenomena is the same. In any event, such problems demand solution and should not be tacitly ignored.

Deprived of the stimulus of economic theory, the anthropologist is content to spend his time on more attractive subjects. Economics at first sight is not a picturesque field of research, which is perhaps one of the basic reasons for the lack of attention it has hitherto received. It has none of the mystic awe of religious rites, the hot thrill of war and the hunt, or the delicious attraction of the mysteries of love and sex. Even technology, a kindred sphere, has the appeal of tangible objects and the interest in unravelling problems of construction, pattern, and form. But economic organization, to the average anthropologist, lacks these charms. It is prosaic, deals with the common round of life, matters of work and the handling of goods, and from its very familiarity is, paradoxically enough, the more difficult to observe in perspective and adequately to describe. As a result it is too often ignored or taken for granted. Apart from some notes on food supplies, division of labour, and, maybe, native "currency", little in the way of data of real economic importance is usually collected. Records of the native at work, his forms of organization, motivation of industry, and the intricate functioning of the apparatus of production, distribution, and exchange, are rarely obtained. It is time that such a fundamental aspect of native life received more than merely lukewarm attention from those whose avowed object is the study of primitive institutions.

There is one drawback, indeed, from which the study of

primitive economics must always suffer—the lack of precision in the data examined. The same is true of the science as a whole, even in respect of current problems, and to this extent its generalizations must always lack finality; but in regard to primitive society the position is more acute, owing, *inter alia*, to the practical impossibility of obtaining adequate statistical information. One has to be content, therefore, to formulate general principles of correspondingly less precise character.

After this discussion of primitive economics in relation to its parent sciences we may turn to review the development of the study and the type of problem to which attention has been mainly devoted. The first rudiments of theoretical inquiry may be traced far back in the history of thought, but it is not until the opening of the nineteenth century that any real interest begins to attach to them. The fundamental problem at this time and for many succeeding decades was the formulation of a scheme of development of human economy, the creation of stages of progress into which the various cultures could be fitted, and which led up in regular sequence to the economic system characteristic of present day conditions in the civilized states. The great number of these schemes renders it impossible to consider them in detail, and a brief reference to the theories of some of the principal writers will have to suffice.

Stages of Evolution

The scheme which first and for a long period held the field was that of the three stages of development (*Dreistufentheorie*).[1] According to this view the primal state of society was one in which man gained his livelihood by hunting or fishing, varied by the collecting of nuts and fruits. To this type of existence succeeded a pastoral stage, the tending of animals in nomad fashion forming the chief occupation. Progressing further, man emerged on to another economic plane, characterized by a settled life and the practice of agriculture. Such was the view of primitive society held by Adam Smith (1776)—who spoke of "hunters", "shepherds", and "agriculturists"—

[1] For an exhaustive historical critique of the theories of primitive economics *v.* P. W. Koppers, "Die Ethnologische Wirtschaftsforschung," *Anthropos*, x–xi, 1915–16, 611–51; 971–1079—especially good for the earlier writers; his estimate of recent work is not so adequate. A useful review of certain outstanding theories is also given by Fritz Krause, *Wirtschaftsleben der Völker*, 1924, 113–24.

and the social philosophers of the eighteenth century. It was also adopted later by Friedrich List (1840), who added two additional stages to cover the development of a civilized economy.[1]

With the widespread acceptance of the biological doctrine of evolution these three stages of development came to be regarded not only as an historical reality, but also as the necessary and predetermined halting places in the march of economic progress. The metaphor is exact, for the application of the concept of evolution, indeed, was not quite consistent, since the "stage" vaguely signified "arrival", the "fixed point", "completion for the time being", with periods of transition in between. But the essence of normal evolution is that every moment is one of transition, there is no suspension of change, no rest-period. Instead of properly representing economic development as a process of gradual and continuous modification, the theory of occupational stages embodied the idea of a pause and then a forward movement. In this it was not quite true to the tenets of its proclaimed faith.

Originally it seems to have been believed that all humanity passed through—or in the case of the more primitive peoples, was destined to pass through—these stages of economic development. But this idea of a universal course of evolution soon disappeared. It was pointed out at a very early date that the absence of large mammals in various parts of the world where some form of agriculture was practised rendered it almost impossible for the inhabitants of those regions ever to have led a pastoral existence. Thus before the end of the eighteenth century Izaak Iselin in his study of the history of mankind, using the material of Cook, noted that the Maori cultivated the soil, but since they had no cattle, could not therefore have advanced through a pastoral stage to agriculture.[2] The same was pointed out later by Alexander von Humboldt of certain North American Indian tribes. Other writers again, as Bruno Hildebrand, drew attention to the general fact of the dependence of the economic life of a people upon their natural surroundings, and thus supported the view of not a unilinear, but a multiple evolution.

[1] In this he was anticipated to some extent by Heinrich Storch, who in his *Cours d'économie politique*, St. Petersburg, 1815, laid down three stages of economic development—pastoral people, agriculturalists, industrial and trading folk.

[2] I. Iselin, *Über die Geschichte der Menscheit*, 4th ed., Basel, 1779, ii, 20.

The evolutionary scheme of three stages of development is still retained by a number of recent writers, as F. A. Walker and more notably C. Gide, but in this form it represents the idea of a logical rather than an organic or actual line of development.

In time the old three-stage pattern of economic development was abandoned, chiefly through the influence of Ratzel, and, even more potent, that of Eduard Hahn, but only to give rise to a veritable crop of new schemes in which the principle of evolution still played the leading part.

Before this, however, individual writers of eminence had sought to classify types of society in different ways, and each put forward his own conception of the mode in which the economic advancement of man had taken place. Thus Bruno Hildebrand, criticizing the scheme of List as unhistorical, since it drew inspiration mainly from the course of events in a single country, England, later put forward his own view, which made the type of exchange the criterion. He distinguished a period of barter, a period of money, and a period of credit.[1]

In 1877, Lewis Morgan, in *Ancient Society*, marked off two stages of savagery and three of barbarism. According to the view of Waitz (1859) and also of Bachofen (1861) agriculture was a direct descendant of the hunting state of early society, while Nowacki (1879) in a well-argued essay gave evidence of the derivation of pastoral nomadism and agriculture by divergent ways from the original hunting and collecting stage. H. Ling Roth (1887) also regarded agriculture as a development of the collection of vegetable food, and probably the result of the tentative efforts of woman.[2]

[1] *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Bd. ii, 1864, 1–24. In his critique of List he points out that a comparison of the development of Great Britain with that of Holland as described by List himself shows that the latter's general theory is untenable (*Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft*, Bd. i, 1848, 72). The defects of Hildebrand's own scheme have been well demonstrated by Gustav Cohn (*Grundlegung der Nationalökonomie*, Stuttgart, 1885, 454), who shows (1) that the function of money as a measure of value must still continue in a credit economy, and that therefore no distinction of " stage " can be made between the two. The real separation is between a cash economy and a credit economy ; (2) that as economy develops credit tends to be limited rather than increased ; the provision of it is taken over by a small group of experts who buy it for cash. Transition to a pure credit economy is not synonymous with economic development. Cf. Georg von Below, *Probleme der Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1920, 165–7 ; also W. Sombart, *Archiv für soz. Gesetzgebung u. Statistik*, 1899, xiv, 312–13, who says of Hildebrand's scheme, *inter alia*, " Ich kenne kaum ein zweite Theorie, die trotzdem sie so arg oberflächlich ist, doch gleichzeitig so viel Fehler enthielte "—a fair sample of the attitude which many German writers of a decade or so ago took up towards the work of their predecessors.

[2] Cf. also H. Cunow (*Die Neue Zeit*, 1898), who links this up with the evolution of the status and influence of woman in primitive society. In his opinion,

One of the most prominent theorists towards the end of the nineteenth century was undoubtedly Eduard Hahn, prolific as a writer and spirited as a controversialist, who, while dealing resounding blows at the old *Dreistufenlehre*, erected at the same time his own hypothesis of the evolution of institutions. According to him, economic development proceeded everywhere, when natural conditions allowed, from the initial stage of hunting and collecting by way of hoe-culture and garden cultivation. True agriculture, however, associated with the domestication of cattle, was produced by the unique conditions of one special area, old Babylonia, and took its origin in the performance of religious rites pertaining to the worship of the Moon-goddess. Moreover, on this theory, pastoral nomadism was a development from the Babylonian plough-culture, an inversion of the usual evolutionary order which aroused a vigorous opposition. In the validity of Hahn's theories one may decline to believe, but it must be allowed that he made a definite contribution to the study by his classification of the various modes of tilling the soil, pointing out especially the distinction between hoe-cultivation (*Hackbau*) with simple tools and agriculture proper (*Ackerbau*) with the plough and domesticated animals (*Pflug-kultur*). He also was one of the first to realize, however dimly, that the development of economic institutions cannot be explained along purely rational lines, and by his emphasis on the religious element associated with food pursuits, paved the way for a broader consideration of the problem.

The rigid doctrine of unilinear evolution was rejected by Ernst Grosse, who regarded the various types of economy as being primarily determined by the drive of economic effort working itself out in the particular natural environment. Hence the Lower and Higher Hunters, Pastoralists, and Lower and Higher Agriculturists of his scheme represent not so much grades or stages in the one process of development as separate forms of economy emerged from local conditions of life. The most notable feature of Grosse's work is the emphasis which he lays upon the economic factors in culture ; according to his view the type of economy, more particularly the form of production, primarily determines social relationships such as the form of the family, and through these influences in overmastering fashion

matriarchy is correlated with the lower grades of agriculture, wherein the women do the work.

the whole course of life in its varied aspects. According to his argument the form of the family in different types of society tends to vary as the form of the productive economy. The primacy of the economic life as the determining factor of the form of all social institutions cannot be upheld; the relation between them is deep, but it is reciprocal, not a one-sided cause and effect. But the work of Grosse, in drawing attention to the importance of the economic factor in culture, in classifying peoples with more heed to their actual conditions of life than to their place in a preconceived scheme of economic evolution, undoubtedly has helped to broaden the basis of the study of primitive economics.

A classification of another kind was undertaken by Alfred Vierkandt. To the usual method of assigning peoples to different culture levels by reference to their economic status he made objection, on the grounds that culture was not necessarily proportionate to economic development, and again, that such a classification was not based upon the most fundamental cultural determinant—the psychological nature of man. "The culture level of a people is rooted in the average height of the spiritual life of the whole (*wurzelt in der durchschnittlichen Höhe des geistigen Lebens der Gesamtheit*)," he says.[1] Hence he was concerned with cultural rather than with economic criteria and conducted his analysis upon a more purely psychological basis. Thus he traces the beginnings of human industry in obtaining subsistence to an instinctive foundation, and finds for example the roots of hunting among primitive people in a specific instinct probably inherited from our animal forbears.[2]

On his scheme the cultures of mankind are divided into six grades, the highest alone, that of "Full culture" (*Vollkultur*), being characterized by the existence of free personality and a strong development of the spirit of individual expression and criticism.[3] The remaining peoples are marked in varying degree by a constraint of consciousness (*Gebundenheit des Bewusstseins*) in which the individual is subjected to the authority of the whole community. Of these latter peoples

[1] "Die Kulturformen und ihre geographische Verbreitung," *Geographische Zeitschrift*, iii, 1897, 256–67, 315–26.

[2] "Die Vulgärpsychologie in der Ethnologie und die Anfänge der menschlichen Ernährung," *Festschrift Eduard Hahn zum LX Geburtstag*, Stuttgart, 1917, 70.

[3] e.g. "Die freie Persönlichkeit bleibt durchaus ein Vorrecht der Vollkultur" (*A. f. A.*, xxv, 66); v. also op. cit. supra.

there are four primary types, the roving peoples, the true nature folk, the nomadic semi-cultured peoples, and the settled semi-cultured peoples. In addition to these, in the regions penetrated by European influence and often marked by the infiltration of European blood, the folk of mixed culture are distinguished.

The work of Vierkandt, with its emphasis on the need for psychological criteria in addition to the purely economic or occupational measure of cultural efficiency, is valuable as a corrective to the study of culture types. Moreover, in regarding economic life as a development upon a basis of instinctive endowment he has initiated a study of very real importance. Later research, though it has not confirmed his view of a specific hunting instinct, is beginning to recognize with growing interest the importance of probing to the biological foundations of human institutions and examining the transmutation from natural to cultural process. But Vierkandt's distinction between the people of higher and lower culture on the basis of development of individual initiative and expression is hardly well founded, and betrays his chief weakness, a reliance on a psychological as against a sociological foundation of analysis.

Heinrich Schurtz, on the other hand, though recognizing that the fundamental basis of culture lies in the psychological sphere, prefers in the face of the difficulty of evaluating these criteria, to rest his scheme of grouping upon more external and economic factors. These, according to him, correspond to the inner fabric of society, and may be legitimately used for classification. On this basis he distinguishes the groups of roving folk, hunters, fishers, nomads, agriculturalists, and industrialists. In general he is in agreement with the theories of Hahn, but rejects the latter's derivation of the domestication of animals, regarding it as a development from the conditions of the hunting state. Though an upholder of evolutionary schemes, believing them, in spite of their admitted imperfections, to be a necessary aid to the classification of the data of primitive economics,[1] Schurtz displays a moderate outlook,

[1] "Die Anfänge des Landbesitzes," *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1900, iii, 245–6, etc. A further quotation indicates the point of view adopted by Schurtz: "Die Menschheit ist zu beweglich, ihre Geschichte zu mannigfaltig, als dass ein starres Schema, und wäre es mit der wunderbarsten Sorgfalt angearbeitet, jemals vollig genügen konnte; es ist schon genug, wenn es auf einer bestimmten Stufe der Erkenntnis den Überblick erleichtert hat-soll es mehr sein dann hemmt

and considerable value attaches to his detailed studies of economic phenomena in primitive society.

The theories of primitive economic development put forward by the principal exponents of the evolutionary doctrine in anthropology before the end of last century have now been briefly reviewed. Despite the wide acceptance of this method of approach, and its conformity to the general scientific temper of the period, the work of these writers did not pass altogether unchallenged. From the followers of the historical school, in their general revolt against the abstractions of the classical economics, came a certain amount of criticism, led at first by Knies, Roscher, and Hildebrand, and later by Wagner and Schmoller. But their insistence on the inductive study of phenomena did not prevent them also from constructing schemes of the development of institutions of very similar tenor, as for instance, Roscher's theory of the origin of agriculture in a fruit-collecting Paradise.

Perhaps the fullest criticism of individual evolutionary schemes came from within the ranks of the evolutionary writers themselves. Here, as has been shown, there existed considerable diversity of opinion. Indeed, it seemed for a time as if the study of primitive economics were doomed to degenerate into a hopeless welter of hypotheses and a tedious wrangling over origins. But side by side with an increase in available data from field work came a development of interest in the actual character of the phenomena studied—in the essential nature of institutions and the organic inter-relationship of the elements which compose them, as against the setting of them in chronological sequence and inquiry into their hidden beginnings. Thus the work of the newer exponents of the evolutionary doctrine has a richness and a flavour of reality which was too often absent from the schematization of the older writers.

The Work of Karl Bücher

In recent years one of the most outstanding figures in primitive economics is undoubtedly Karl Bücher, and a brief critical

es unfehlbar die Forschung statt ihr zu nutzen. Welche Mühe hat es beispielsweise neuerdings gekostet das alte heilige Schema von dem aufeinanderfolgenden Kulturstufen der Jagd, des Nomadismus und des Ackerbaues zu beseitigen!"

estimate of his work is therefore necessary.[1] Both his *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* (translated in 1901 under the title of *Industrial Evolution*) and *Arbeit und Rhythmus* occupy a deservedly high place in the somewhat slender literature of the subject. At the same time both from his general premises and from the paucity of relevant data upon which to draw, his work possesses some grave faults. In essential these spring from the fact that as a *national-ökonom* of the nineteenth century, he projects the concepts formed by the study of modern institutions on to the plane of savage life, and in this way formulates *a priori* his conclusions as to the structure of primitive economics. Such in reality is the method by which he has discovered in the phenomena of modern native life "traces" of a condition of "individual search for food", a pre-economic stage of development (*ein vorwirtschaftliches Entwicklungsstadium*). Thus Bücher affects scorn of the artificial constructions of the classical economists; the old three-grade scheme is rejected. But in its stead is substituted a hypothetical system which is still further removed from reality, in that the initial stage of development is characterized by an entire lack of economy. As Leroy points out, Bücher has proceeded on the principle of negation, denying to the primitive all that he conceives to be the attributes of the civilized man. Hence to the altruism, honesty, work, and forethought of the members of our own society are opposed the egoism, thievery, idleness, and improvidence of the savage.

This vice of method has led Bücher to a number of erroneous conclusions. In the first place his postulate of a pre-economic stage of individual search for food, evidence of which condition he claims to find in the modern savage, is purely hypothetical, and receives no support from an examination of even the lowest human races. The economic life of such peoples as the Vedda, Bushmen, Andamanese, Senoï, and Yagan shows conclusively a definite co-operative organization in the work of production.[2]

[1] The best study of his ethnological writings is that of Olivier Leroy, *Essai d'introduction critique à l'étude de l'économie primitive*, 1925. Useful criticism of Bücher has also been made by L. Wodon, *Sur quelques érreurs de méthode dans l'étude de l'homme primitif*, 1906; P. W. Koppers (op. cit.); and R. Thurnwald, essay in *Erinnerungsgabe für Max Weber* (i, 1921), "Handel," "Handwerk," and various other articles in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, 1925–7, and review of Leroy, *Zeit. f. Ethnologie*, 1926, 235–7.

[2] Ample proof of this is given in the respective monographs of C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, S. Passarge, A. Radcliffe-Brown, R. Martin, and P. W. Koppers.

A study of the realities of ownership and the institution of property among primitive people shows too that Bücher's assertion of the pure individualism of the savage is untenable. Everywhere the holding of property assumes a distinctly social character. It may be mentioned on the other hand, however, that the theories of the development of our private ownership of to-day from primitive communism, which are advanced by several writers, both popular and scientific, are to be regarded as equally fantastic. This idea was in particular the product of Marx and Engels, influenced by the Hegelian dialectic, with its conception of any state of society as being the negation of that which immediately preceded it. In the case of Morgan, Maine, and later, Rivers, this conclusion was largely the result of generalization from an inadequate basis of inductive inquiry. With another group of theorists, on the other hand, it was adopted as being consonant with their political aspirations, to which it would afford a useful precedent in keeping with the philosophical system which they embraced. Even at the present time this evolutionary doctrine of the communistic ownership of all property in primitive times is a tenet of faith vigorously championed by some rather ill-informed writers, of whom William Paul is a case in point.[1] But the facts of native ownership support neither this nor Bücher's theory of individualism. " Property, which is but one form of legal relationship, is neither purely individualistic, nor communal, but always mixed," says Malinowski [2]; while Leroy points out that reality is profoundly indifferent to " philosophico-political systematizations " and remarks " Concluons donc : communisme, individualisme sont des formules trop vagues, trop lâches, où la realité ne se laisse pas volontiers emprisonner ".[3]

Apart from the test of fact, there are several inconsistencies

[1] See *The State: its Origin and Function*, 1917, and *Communism and Society*, 1922. The latter work opens : " The history of human society shows that the earliest and most universal form of economic structure was primitive Communism to which corresponded a definite conception of Government—the Clan." The slave revolts of Greece and Rome are interpreted as attempts to get back to this idyllic condition. " The human race, living, as it did, for thousands of years under Communism, in the old gentile or clan system, had communistic impulses rooted in its fibre " (17).

[2] *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, 135 ; cf. also his article " Anthropology ", *Encyclopædia Brit.*, 13th ed., 1926, and Thurnwald's " Eigentum " in Ebert's *Reallexikon*.

[3] *Essai critique*, 45, and ch. iv.

contained within Bücher's theories. Thus after postulating a pre-economic stage of individual search for food as the initial condition of mankind, he fails to explain how this becomes rather miraculously converted into a stage of closed household economy. Nor does he attempt to harmonize his theory of the origination of exchange in a former state of free bestowal of gifts with the strictly selfish individualistic economy of the primal social state.

As regards the genesis of exchange it is interesting to compare the theory of Bücher with another of the same type, since the two in conjunction help to illustrate one of the cardinal defects of the evolutionary method. Bücher, working on evidence from Polynesia, Soudan, Central Brazil, Australia, and ancient Greece, concludes that the institution of exchange developed out of the custom of making presents, taking form in a system of mutual gifts. Thus "among many primitive peoples peculiar customs have been preserved which clearly illustrate the transition from presents to exchange".[1] This theory will be dealt with at length in a later chapter. For the present it may simply be contrasted with its antithesis. For another body of opinion holds, on the basis of certain phenomena observed among African and Asiatic tribes, that commercial exchange developed out of the "silent trade" or "dumb barter". This process is carried on without a word being uttered by either side, one party laying down their goods and withdrawing to a distance, while the other people then remove them and provide an equivalent in their place. This institution in its turn is a development from an original state when violent seizure of goods was the rule. According to Müller-Lyer the customs of the Akka and the Mountain Vedda "prove unmistakably the transition from robbery to so-called dumb barter".[2]

Consideration of these two hypotheses side by side—one supporting the development of exchange from gifts, the other its genesis from robbery—exposes an inherent defect in the orthodox evolutionary treatment, with its idea of economic stages. For in their desire to learn the origins of things, these theorists come to look at the present simply from the point of

[1] *Industrial Evolution*, 63.

[2] *History of Social Development*, 1920, 269; trans. of his *Phasen der Kultur*, 1908, by Elizabeth Coote Lake and H. A. Lake.

view of the past. They are interested not in the structure of society as it is, but in the state out of which it may have arisen. They study possible chronological sequence rather than actual social linkage. Instead of trying to evaluate a custom by reference to its cultural milieu, to find whether it cannot be correlated with existing institutions, they expend their energies in attempting to sift out of it the supposed elements from which it has been derived, and place them in some imagined order of progression. And so where some aspect of economic life is characterized by different customs among different peoples, divergent theories of this type are bound to develop, each equally valid—or futile. The disconcerting feature about such a scheme of evolutionary stages is that it may be started just as well from either end, and with equal plausibility. Thus whereas Bücher interprets the customs of the Indians of British Guiana as giving evidence of the transition from gift making to exchange, Müller-Lyer includes the same people in his exposition as an instance of the development of exchange to guest gift ![1]

Of Bücher's other theories, such as that of the development of work from play, similar criticism can be made. The inaccuracy of his composite picture of savage life—for while purporting to characterize the "nature-folk" of the lower ranges of culture he loosely draws his illustrations at convenience from peoples of every type—and his errors in matters of fact need not be traversed here. It must be granted to Bücher in conclusion, however, that he has performed a distinct service in drawing attention to the study of primitive economics by bringing its subject matter into comparison with the economy of civilized peoples.

The evolutionary method of treatment, purged of its most palpable faults, is still followed by a number of writers who on the descriptive side have made useful contributions to the study. Among others the analyses by R. Lasch of the economics of primitive agriculture and the market, the work of Müller-Lyer and Fritz Krause on types of institutions, of Jan St. Lewinski on the origins of property in land, and of M. Moszkowski and Karl Weule on native industry bear a considerable value. The old *Dreistufenschema* and similar theories are no longer held as valid. As Lasch remarks, "To divide off exactly the

[1] Bücher, op. cit., 64–5; Müller-Lyer, op. cit., 160–1.

individual forms of economy one from the other and estimate their chronological sequence has proved, for the time being, an impossibility." [1]

But the practice of viewing an institution as a stage in the development of an evolutionary series still persists, and tends to obscure the recognition of some of the fundamental economic ties within the society studied.

Primitive Economics in the Modern Textbook

The economists who deal with modern civilized society show themselves to be not wholly free from this evolutionary bias when they stoop to consider the conditions of primitive peoples. Thus, to mention a few examples, Emile Levasseur distinguished five grades in economic evolution, very much in the manner of List, the grades being occupational in character and marked by differences in density of population. Sociologists like Maxime Kovalevsky (1896) and Guillaume de Greef (1904) also subscribed to this idea of the development of economy through the stages of hunting and fishing, pastoralism and agriculture, and praised "*La grande loi de l'évolution*" and the value of its application to social phenomena. At the present day some economists like Charles Gide still take over completely the old concept of stages of economy, and so by the weight of their authority help to perpetuate an outworn creed.[2] Others reject such a superficial classification, but neglecting to study the vital elements of primitive economics give an abstract and arbitrary character to their own conclusions.

As an illustration of the lack of appreciation of the complexity of the problem involved, the treatment of savage institutions adopted by the eminent American economist Professor E. R. A. Seligman may be briefly considered. In his *Principles of Economics* (9th ed., 1921) he gives a good criticism of the various schemes of economic stages, on the grounds of their vague, incomplete, and superficial character. On the other hand he himself still adheres to the theory, long since superseded, of the origin of the family in the primeval horde. Moreover, he sets up a scheme of economic development, in which the first stage is

[1] "Einführung in die vergleichende Völkerkunde," 13 (in Georg Buschan's *Illustrierte Völkerkunde* i, 1922).

[2] Gide, *Cours d'Économie politique*, éd. 1921, Tom. i; cf. the acute criticism by Olivier Leroy, *L'Activité économique primitive d'après M. Charles Gide*, Paris, 1926.

said to be one of self-sufficing or isolated economy, and the unit, the household, lives to itself and has in the normal way no necessary relations with any other household. In production and consumption it is quite independent of any other group, and barter only arises in course of time, when a group has learnt to raise a surplus and trade it away to others—first in propitiatory fashion but later in the expectation of receiving a return. " But at the outset, and for a long time, there is no barter, because in a typical self-sufficing economy there is no need of barter " (76). This dictum is an obvious application to the institutions of primitive man of the criterion of pure rational utility, a principle which is not always valid as a determinant factor even in our own society. Moreover, one cannot argue an institution out of existence on *a priori* grounds merely because one cannot see the need for it. Barter is declared to be absent because it is not needed in the hypothetical scheme ; how on this criterion can one account for the important systems of exchange in Melanesia, and the reciprocal feasts in Polynesia, the essence of which is that *goods of the same kind* and often *without direct practical use* are transferred from each party to the other ? The exchanges take place in gratification of a complex set of social motives—pride, vanity, ambition, sense of kinship bonds—but on the principle of economic utility there is no " need " for them ever to occur. This is an illustration of how the application of *a priori* assumptions to the study of primitive economics is apt to lead to conclusions which crumble at the touch of fact. This criticism, it is scarcely necessary to add, cannot be laid at Seligman's door in any other aspect of his work, which is too well known to need comment. Such views are unfortunately more detrimental to primitive economics than to the treatise which contains them, since the reputation of such an established authority gives currency to spurious coin.

In the works of Alfred Marshall one finds little reference to primitive economics, and his discussion of barter is frankly based on the acts of a fictitious savage. He accepts, however, the general evolutionary position that the appliances and institutions of primitive folk develop gradually, by imperceptible advance. He is also of opinion that much more of economic theory than at first sight appears can be adapted to the culture of " backward races ".

In rare cases the reality of the institutions of primitive man

has been grasped by the economist, as by J. A. Hobson in his account of the origins of human industry. In particular he has recognized the complex nature of the motives involved, the vital appeal to economic utility, and the no less important driving elements of sportive, artistic, social and religious interest.

By most of the economic historians the institutions of primitive man are dismissed in a few sentences, and even when fuller treatment is accorded, the data are often taken from ethnological accounts which have been superseded by later research. The reliance of Schmoller upon Spencer and Morgan is a case in point. The scheme of Schmoller, with its emphasis on political grouping; the distinction drawn by Philippovich between house economy and trade economy, the latter embracing successively town, territory, and state; the effort made by Sombart to grasp the reality of economic advancement by basing his system on the degree of association (*Vergesellschaftung*) in economic affairs and the opposition of " need " to " profit " economy—these with other similar ideas bear only upon the fringe of economic anthropology and do not call for discussion. To the student of the primitive there is an ever present temptation to slip over into the attractive field of the theory of economic history, but this is not possible here. With the critical attitude adopted towards these evolutionary schemes of development by such writers as Gustav Cohn or G. von Below, the present work is largely in agreement.[1]

Classification of Types of Economy

This review of the part which various evolutionary theories have played in the study of primitive economics may be concluded by a short critique of the methods and assumptions which underlie this general conception of stages of progress. There is no need to enter deeply into this question, since it has been dealt with at length by a number of writers.[2]

[1] See e.g. " Über Theorien der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der Völker," G. von Below (*Probleme der Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1920). This gives a useful critique of various theories, including Bücher's concept of a closed household economy.

[2] e.g. P. W. Koppers, " Die Ethnologische Wirtschaftsforschung," loc. cit., *Die Anfänge des menschlichen Geminschaftslebens*, 1921; A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, 1923, 20–7, 125–8; B. Malinowski, article " Anthropology," *Encyc. Brit.*, 1926; A. Leroy, *Essai critique*, 1–4 *et passim*. An excellent critical study of some of the wider issues of this problem is given by M. M. Postan in *Economica* (Journal of the London School of Economics), 1928.

It may be said at once that these evolutionary schemes usually fail to stand the test of fact. They are artificial, as criticism has shown. They do not represent any historical reality, but are compounded of logical abstractions having their basis, as with the doctrine of Herbert Spencer, in some already formulated philosophical system. The comparative method which is widely used by the adherents of the evolutionary school in order to demonstrate the validity of their theories consists essentially in examining different types of an institution as they appear among different folk, and then assigning them to successive grades in development. Clearly, however, this is not a proof but an illustration of the evolutionary hypothesis, since one must first have assumed that the culture of each of these folk has followed approximately the same course of progression. The principle of unilinear evolution which gave rise to so many theories in primitive economics is a postulate of which the validity has not been endorsed by later research.

The claim is often made in extenuation of evolutionary schemes that while confessedly artificial, they are necessary in order to cope with the data to hand and reduce the study of primitive economics to some semblance of order. Thus to Moszkowski, such schemes are logical abstractions rather than historical realities; and yet though not the truth they are a means of assisting us to reach it.[1] Their justification lies in the fact that they serve to make accessible and comprehensible a mass of otherwise inchoate material. It is probable, as Leroy points out, that Bücher also recognized that the distinctions he drew were not founded in any reality of social phenomena, but was prevented by his taste for systematization from rejecting what he regarded as a principle essential to clarity of treatment. Schurtz, too, perhaps the soundest of the older writers, defends the construction of schemes of development as a temporary expedient for purposes of systematization. "This making of schemes is necessary," he says, "and it is harmless, too, so long as one regards each scheme as a temporary means of assistance in face of the active flow of development, and does not bind oneself to it with body and soul." [2] Moreover, a scheme of this kind is simpler to grasp than the necessarily vague concept of development as it takes place in actuality. This argument is not without

[1] *Vom Wirtschaftsleben der Primitiven Völker*, 1911, 3.

[2] "Die Anfänge des Landbesitzes," *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1900, iii, 245.

weight, and one must acknowledge that incidentally the constructors of such schemes accomplished a very useful work in "that gay and irresponsible time during which a youthful science sows its wild oats", as Marett neatly terms it, by giving form and coherence to a subject as yet faintly understood. But the appeal to expediency carries less conviction when we consider that the kind of simplification and systematization introduced by these schemes has involved a distortion of reality and a distraction of attention from vital issues which has definitely hampered the advancement of the study.

Schemes of classification are indeed essential to primitive economics, as to any science, but they need not be schemes of development. In other words the time-factor, the idea of chronological sequence, the emergence of one "stage" from another—whether of historical or evolutionary causation, for the same criticism applies to each—need not be introduced. There is an urgent need for classification of cultures as regards their economic achievement, to be undertaken on the basis of present status without reference to any imagined order of progression. It is the case for the study of the *form of economy* (*Wirtschaftsform*) as against that of the *grade of economy* (*Wirtschaftstufe*).

This is not to deny the idea of development altogether. The fact of social change is apparent to all, and, if only in the plane of material culture, one can point to modifications in structure which have made possible a greater efficiency, a greater degree of achievement. The concept of evolution is still fruitful for the study of social phenomena. Even the ordinary usage of the term "primitive" as applied to native peoples by the anthropologist bears some connotation of their position on a developmental scale.

The point of this criticism rests against the misapplication of the idea of evolution; the dissipation of energy in the creation of hypothetical schemes of change and progress, to the detriment of the real needs of the study; the peering back after imagined origins in the past with a corresponding neglect of the complex reality of the present.

The validity of any scheme of classification which separates the cultures of the diverse peoples of the world into a number of categories or economic types depends upon the nature of the criteria adopted. In the first place such a classification must be empirical, taking as its measure of distinction not an abstract

idea of the phenomena, but the complex reality of structure of the communities concerned. Again, the criteria must be comprehensive in their scope ; any scheme which relies upon a single institution or set of phenomena arbitrarily chosen, such as the form of exchange or the type of agriculture, can have but a limited use and accuracy. It seems fairly clear that the most objective basis of distinction is the type of material culture and the nature of the technological methods employed. Economic effort, looked at from one angle, represents the attempt of man to subdue nature to his needs, so that one may rightly take as an important criterion for classification the nature and extent of achievement along these lines. From a study of the types of implement in relation to their use, their efficiency—the capacity to serve the end for which they were designed—can be estimated. This is possible without bringing in the more debatable question of the degree to which they contribute to human welfare. The fact that objects of material culture can be thus compared with reference to their appropriateness to suit the immediate end, without discussing their relative merits on a wider scale of social values, renders them of peculiar importance as criteria in a classification of types of economy. But this in itself is not sufficient. Material culture and technique must be taken in conjunction with the organization of production ; this is closely linked with the form of distribution and exchange of goods, while these in turn are bound up with social grouping, customs of hospitality, and rules of inheritance. To establish securely the difference in various types of economy this full institutional complex centring around the provision of the material goods current in the society must be taken as a basis of distinction. The working out of such a classification in the present state of our knowledge would be a difficult task, inasmuch as the cultures of which the economic organization has been adequately studied can be numbered almost on the fingers of one hand. But the increased interest in primitive economics seems likely to lead to the production of monographs giving a detailed analysis of the economic system of various peoples, a work which will facilitate the ultimate process of classification.

The *Kulturhistorische Schule*

A prominent position in the study of primitive economics at present is occupied by the followers of the historical school,

or as it is termed by its German adherents, the *kulturhistorische Schule*. These writers follow Grosse, for whose work they express deserved admiration, in linking up the social aspects of life strongly with the economic, and in laying stress on economic factors as the prime determinant of culture. According to Pater W. Koppers, one of the most authoritative writers of this school, not only is the economic life of mankind "the presupposition, and the pre-condition of all culture", but "the economic relations from one aspect to another influence the remaining sides of cultural life in the deepest fashion."[1] Since the economic situation of man forms the groundwork, the mother-soil (*Mutterboden*) of his existence, and the foundation of the other aspects of his culture, it can be appealed to in an attempt to explain their character. Before all, to understand the history of social institutions, a study of economic relationships is essential.

This view marches very closely with the doctrine of historical materialism, of which indeed the exponents of the *kulturhistorische Schule* have been accused. From this charge they have been at some pains to clear themselves, and to this end have had to draw some rather fine distinctions.[2] The kernel of the separation which they make lies in their attitude towards religion. According to the theory of historical materialism, religion is conceived as being essentially a product of economic conditions, the whole structure of the spiritual life being founded on a material basis. This Koppers and the other writers deny, pointing out that religion in its essence is a response to certain inner needs of man, independent of his material situation. On the other hand, they readily admit that religion is deeply influenced by economic conditions, which determine many of its external forms and modalities.[3] With this one can agree, and on this point the view of the *kulturhistorische Schule* is clearly differentiated from the materialistic conception of history. In other respects,

[1] *Die Anfänge des menschlichen Gemeinschaftslebens*, 56–7. A tabloid exposition of Koppers' attitude to the problems of primitive economics is given in the report of a lecture before the Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Vienna ("Die Wirtschaftsstufen der Menschheit", 1918).

[2] Pater W. Koppers, *Anfänge des menschlichen Gemeinschaftslebens*, 152–7; *Völker und Kulturen*, 1924, 634–8; "Die Überwindung des historischen Materialismus durch die historische Völkerkunde," *Das Neue Reich*, Wien, Nos. 35 and 36, 5th and 12th June, 1926.

[3] A quotation will illustrate Koppers' position: "Es ist keine Erklärung, und es kommt schon einem kompletten Unsinn gleich, diese Dinge als rein im Material-Wirtschaftlichen begrundet sehen zu wollen. Die äussern ökonomischen Bedingungen erklären wohl gewisse Modalitäten der Sache, ihre äussere Erscheinungsweise, aber keineswegs ihr Dasein und Wesen als solches."—*Anfänge*, 155–6.

however, the separation is less sharply marked, and a harshly literal interpretation of such general phrases as "the unique fundamental meaning which dwells in economic relations in regard to the collective cultural life of mankind" might suggest a certain inconsistency between these and the later triumphant announcements of "the overcoming of historical materialism" by the new anthropology.

For their recognition of the vital importance of the study of primitive economics, the writers of this school deserve credit, and a number of essays and monographs, largely from the pen of Pater Koppers, testify to their interest in this branch of research.

But their central methodological principle gives a distinct bias to their work which tends to limit its usefulness. Their study of primitive economics is subordinated to the aim of explaining the historico-cultural development of mankind, which means in practice the construction of a scheme starting from the primal beginnings of human society and embodying a number of grades of economy. These, occupational stages allied with certain forms of social institutions, are the *Kulturkreise,* which, by impinging upon one another in historial sequence, account for the diverse types of culture in the modern world. It is the claim of the writers of this school that of the evolutionary and historical methods of inquiry "the latter alone bears a truly scientific character".[1] It is true that they appeal to no hidden principle of mutation working behind the scenes and producing the various forms of social institutions. But their postulate of a primal stage of society (*Urkultur*), their system of manifold grades of development, with three primary *Kulturkreise*—exogamic patriarchal, exogamic matriarchal, and patriarchal with strongly developed family—and a number of secondary cultures, is well nigh as abstract and hypothetical as were the old evolutionary schemes. To label the most primitive peoples now existing in diverse parts of the world as the representatives of the oldest sphere of culture, and on this basis to lay down the characteristics of what must have been the primal form of economy, the *Urwirtschaft,* is not a statement of historical fact but a pure assumption. This method of investigation is also open to objection on the score of its mechanistic treatment of culture by derivation and diffusion, its arbitrary segregation of a selected number of factors as an historical unit—hunting, totemism,

[1] Koppers, *Die Anfänge,* etc., 136.

patriliny, for example—and its way of smothering the realities of the economic life of a people under descriptive labels which hide its essentially vital character.[1]

In specific reference to primitive economics once more, the chief criticism which can be advanced against the work of Pater Koppers and his colleagues is their preoccupation with questions of primal origins and lines of development. In this at all events they are at one with their evolutionary opponents. It is perhaps characteristic of a science to attempt the elucidation of its most difficult problems first. It is clear that in society there *is* evolution and there *is* history. But it is vain to attempt to use either of these concepts as a magic key to open the door to understanding. The evolution or the history of an institution only acquires its full meaning when the process of change is interpreted by correlation with the other features of the existing social structure. The study of such development, however, demands a more adequate knowledge of social process than we possess as yet. What is needed in the present state of the science is that type of spadework which will lay bare existing facts and relations, and clear the way for a better understanding of the character of phenomena as they are actually linked in society. The essential problem in primitive economics is to understand the real nature of institutions in the present, to grasp their interrelations, the motives which underlie them, and their fundamental role in the complex social mechanism as it works before our eyes.

The Functional Study of Economic Institutions

Studies of this character have been made in recent years by a number of anthropologists, in particular by Professor Bronislaw Malinowski. By his analyses of the complex conditions of native life, by his indication of the many vital problems which confront the theorist, and by the stimulus which he has given towards their solution, he has laid a permanent foundation for future research in primitive economics. The work of Professor A. Radcliffe-Brown and of Professor R. Thurnwald—

[1] Adequate criticism of the general *kulturhistorische methode* is given by B. Malinowski, "Anthropology," *Encyc. Brit.*, 1926; R. H. Lowie, "Social Anthropology," ibid.; A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, 301–24; R. Thurnwald, article "Kulturkreise", in M. Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, 1926, etc.

that of the former perhaps being less concerned with specifically economic questions—has also contributed in most distinct fashion to the advancement of our science. The conclusions of these writers carry particular weight since they combine extensive field-work with an adequate theoretical approach. In their investigation the endeavour is to understand the fundamental nature of economic activity and the driving forces behind it, to grasp the relation of man's economy to the other aspects of his life in society, such as religion, magic, kinship, organization, and law. The method of trying to establish chronological sequences is discarded, and the facts are examined, not for what they reveal of a problematical past, but for their present value, for the role they play in the existing economic scheme. The method, in short, may be termed one of functional correlation, though such a description may be liable to obscure its essential clarity and simplicity. The root of the matter lies in the fact that it is by consideration of what a thing *does* that one is likely to best understand what it *is*. The utility of this principle of definition has been sufficiently well demonstrated in the natural sciences to need no further justification here.[1]

With this method a number of American anthropologists such as R. H. Lowie, Clark Wissler, and A. A. Goldenweiser are in sympathy—though their attention has been devoted only incidentally to economic problems—as well as the French sociologist, M. Marcel Mauss.[2] Indeed, in so far as it insists upon the functional study of institutions, the work of Emile Durkheim and his colleagues of *L'Année Sociologique* must be regarded as the direct forerunner of that accomplished on the lines of the present method. The writings of Max Schmidt of Berlin, though somewhat arid in point of theory, are also oriented to a certain

[1] Analyses of economic conditions on these lines have been made by B. Malinowski, "Economic Aspect of the Intichiuma Ceremonies," *Festskrift tillägnad Eduard Westermarck*, 1912; "Primitive Economics of the Trobriand Islanders," *Economic Journal*, March, 1921; *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1922; *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, 1926. R. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, Bd. iii, 1912; *Die Gemeinde der Bánaro*, 1921; "Die Gestaltung der Wirtschaftsentwicklung aus ihren Anfängen heraus," *Erinnerungsgabe für Max Weber*, 1923, i, 271–333. A. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, 1922. v. also R. Firth, "Economic Psychology of the Maori," *Journal Royal Anthrop. Inst.*, lv, 1925; "Some Features of Primitive Industry," *Economic Journal* (*Econ. Hist.*, No. 1), Jan., 1926; "Proverbs in Native Life," *Folklore*, June and Sept., 1926. For the express conception of the functional method in its present form see especially the article of Dr. Malinowski, "Anthropology," *Encyc. Brit.*, 1926.

[2] See especially his "Essai sur le Don," *L'Année Sociologique*, 1923–4, a stimulating monograph on the gift exchange.

extent towards this mode of treatment. On a less ambitious scale the descriptive work of some writers of a few years ago, as that of Hellmuth Panckow, F. Somló, Sartorius von Waltershausen, Waclaw Brun, and A. Knabenhans, is an attempt to study the essential realities of the economic life of primitive folk. Useful analyses of economic institutions have also been made in monographs of more recent date, as those of Miss E. Hoyt on primitive trade, W. E. Armstrong on some forms of Melanesian exchange, R. F. Barton on native industry in the Philippines, Gunnar Landtmann on the economic magic of the Papuans of Kiwai, and R. Maunier on co-operative labour among the Berbers. The work of the best modern economic historians is also of a functional type.

In studies of this nature the object is to examine the phenomenon against its general economic and social background. The economic side of life is viewed as a complex set of activities, rooted ultimately in the instinctive needs characteristic of every human animal, but moulded according to the organization and incentives, traditional rules, and religious beliefs current in the society, utilizing a body of material culture and a system of technique to master the physical environment and turn it to man's account. Within this economic framework, each implement, each activity, each feature of organization has its place, and can only be fully understood in relation to this milieu. The institution of the gift exchange, for example, exists not in virtue of being a transition-form from gift-making to trade, but as a standardized mode of action maintained in correspondence to some real combination of immediate social circumstances—ideas of rank, prestige, liberality, and the fulfilment of obligation. It is then the study of the function of an object, that is, its relation to other items of culture, which is the primary task of economic anthropology.

An outline of the fundamental economic situation in human life will bring out more sharply the salient points in our field of study. Economic activity is at root the response of man to certain primary physical needs—as those of food and shelter—which, however, finding expression only in a social milieu, become amplified and transmuted into a body of cultural wants. The drive to action given by these wants, resulting in conscious effort to satisfy them, implies also the recognition of a set of values, and the presence of certain motives or springs to action.

By some theorists, as, for instance, Bücher, all economic activity is held to be defined by the so-called economic principle, the desire to obtain the greatest possible quantity of satisfaction with the minimum sacrifice of effort. But the acceptance of this point of view really involves a prejudging of the nature of economy, for one should first prove that the motives which are behind the provision of goods can really be comprised under this general formula. It seems preferable to include under the economic aspect of life all those types of activity which have as their end the securing of the material goods deemed necessary to human welfare. The essence of this definition lies in relating economic activity to the concrete ends which it strives to attain rather than to an abstract and arbitrarily-chosen principle. In reality the motives of economic effort form a problem for study, not a criterion for definition.

The fact that economic activity is concerned with securing material goods means that man is brought at one period or another of the process of production into direct contact with objects of his natural surroundings. To a very appreciable extent the character of his economic activity is determined by that of his physical environment. Moreover, the adaptation of the raw materials of nature to his use necessitates mechanical handling, manipulation to cause change in form or substance. The sum of these various processes by which materials are moulded to human service, the technology of industry, is an important aspect of economic effort, and, in conjunction with environmental conditions, must be studied for the light it throws on economic organization. It is clear that the material side of the economic situation is very intimately bound up with its social correlate. To state in general terms the relation between them —the material economy is the medium on which and by which man works out his problems ; it acts, too, as a kind of mould which helps to shape and determine the form of the social economy. Moreover, it provides a legacy or residue of achievement in which the economic tradition can be embodied and handed on from one generation of men to the next. Material objects serve as the basis for all economic effort, and the means for the transmission of knowledge. From the other side, since it comes into being to serve the ends of human welfare, the material economy is dovetailed into the framework of the whole social structure, and becomes adapted to it. Each branch of study,

then, can be understood only by constant reference to the other.

The problems which lie before us in this present work are chiefly concerned with the social side of economics. Technology, the study of the actual processes of manipulation of materials, comes incidentally under review only as it is grasped through human relationships, and the organization of economic effort.

The social setting of all economic life moulds to an inestimable degree the character of personal activity. In every undertaking, conformity to custom, to traditional procedure must be observed, while further modification is introduced by the necessity for co-operation, with its integration of individual contributions. The organization of economic life, the harmonizing of relations between persons or groups of people in the society offers a fundamental set of problems for analysis. Since also the form of economic association is contingent upon other types of grouping in the community, as that resting upon bonds of kinship, and reacts also in turn upon these, the relation between economic and general social structure is sufficiently vital to demand investigation.

This holds good also outside the field of production. In the sphere of distribution, the system whereby persons in the community share the product of their industry, as well as in those of exchange, ownership, and consumption, one can study the interplay of motives, the influence of social organization, the reaction between individual behaviour and group co-operation, or between the rules dictated by tradition and the appeal of immediate, living interests. Problems also arise in regard to economic institutions, complex sets of activities involving codified forms of behaviour, established and defined by custom. Common association in economic affairs is essential to human welfare, and the mode of conduct there generated in the relation of man to man tends to become standardized and formalized into a permanent type, an institution. By showing how this fixation of behaviour is of advantage in regulating economic life both for the individual and for society at large one may contribute towards a deeper understanding of social and economic process.

It is an investigation of this type which is undertaken in the present book. The aim is to analyse the economic organization of the Maori of New Zealand as it was in the days before the

arrival of the European effected such radical changes in the culture of this native folk. The work is not without its novelty, as apart from the useful little monograph of W. Brun,[1] no attempt has hitherto been made to study the Maori economic system.

The utility of a scientific method can best be judged by considering the problems which it endeavours to solve. Recent work in primitive economics of the type indicated above has been concerned with such questions as the factors which give weight to leadership in production ; the binding forces of co-operation ; the social stimuli to work ; the nature of economic reward ; the action of the principle of reciprocity in exchange ; the place of magic in economic life ; the influence of wealth upon social organization ; the relation of technical equipment to other aspects of the economic system.

The Value of Primitive Economics

It needs but a glance to become aware that such problems are concerned with vital issues, that the investigator is grappling with the realities which lie at the foundation of native economic life. There is little need to emphasize the value of such study. It may be pointed out, however, that this type of research, in addition to being of interest to the economic historian, as tending to throw light on the nature of less developed forms of institutions, has also a practical application. An adequate knowledge of the economic organization of a native people is essential before one can govern them, trade with them or exploit them for labour, with any degree of success. In these days, when the long fingers of commerce and Imperial dominion reach out across the world, the study of primitive economics is of distinct assistance in understanding native races, securing their co-operation, and preserving them from the worst effects of contact with white civilization.

The industrial organization of the present age is a *Welt-wirtschaft*, a world economy. In certain regions, notably in the Pacific, the area of our immediate interest, the entry of the European has caused a serious decline of the native people, and it cannot be gainsaid that ill-advised interference with their

[1] *Die Wirtschaftsorganisation der Maori auf Neuseeland*, 1912. This is a good descriptive account in which the author has succeeded in grasping the reality of the main features of the native economic life. Most of the deeper theoretical issues, however, are left untouched.

institutions has been largely instrumental in producing this condition. Here a lack of understanding of the native economic organization has been an important contributing factor. Thus the breakdown of the system of *tapu* surrounding the cultivation of the *kumara* in New Zealand removed a valuable regulating force in industry. The tilling of the soil became careless and slovenly, the seed was not planted at the proper time, little care was taken of the growing plants, and the organization of this branch of labour lost much of its strength and cohesion. The removal of the *tapu* system meant the abolition of a strong compulsion to work, and the result was the partial decay of native agriculture. These effects of the breakdown of *tapu* and economic magic might be paralleled in most of the other islands of the Pacific, while interference with slavery, polygamy, the privileges of chiefs, secret societies, dancing and tribal feasts in a number of areas has also reacted injuriously upon native industry. If the incentives which prompted the native to work were more clearly understood then it would be realized why the work itself has so often flagged under white influence. Only the study of the complex institutions of native economics can avert or remedy these consequences.

Moreover, it is apparent at a glance that our contact with native peoples everywhere is very largely of an economic kind. To set the problem upon the lowest plane : admitting frankly that most of our interest in native races is due to the desire to exploit the natural resources of their territory and to obtain their assistance in doing so, it is clear that the co-operation of the native in work is essential to this end. This is directly the case when native labour is required to work plantations or farms, indirectly when the development of a market for our goods in native communities necessitates industry on their part to provide the requisite objects for exchange. Yet too often by a failure to appreciate the nature of his economic organization the sympathy of the native is alienated and his working capacity weakened or destroyed. European prejudice against the participation of women in heavy manual work has on occasion led to the enforcement of the performance of such duties by the men, a compulsion which deeply offends native belief and upsets the whole balance of the sexual division of labour in tribal life. Again, the vital relation of magic to productive effort is often missed, and its driving power, its regulative value is not appreciated. Hence the

white man in contact with natives divorces magic from work, and is surprised when the suppression of the one leads to slackness and inefficiency in the other.

In most new countries the European wishes to acquire land from the native, a process which has been a most powerful cause of friction between the two peoples. This is well exemplified in the history of New Zealand, where the "Land Question" has been fundamentally responsible for the grave war which at one time raged between *pakeha* and Maori. Grant of usufruct mistaken for absolute cession, purchase from those who had no right to sell, insistence on the chief as the owner of the tribal property—such were the blunders committed in those early years through ignorance of the native system of land tenure. It is only by a study of the full economic situation, of the complex scheme of privileges and obligations of persons in regard to the land, of the exact power of the chief or elders over it and, just as important, of the sentimental attitude of the tribe or community towards their ancestral soil, that equity can be maintained and friction avoided.

Little attention is usually paid to the form of distribution of goods in a primitive community. Yet this is sometimes extremely complicated; economic ties and obligations are many and are delicately balanced. Unthinking interference with a cumbrous system of transfer of goods which seems on the surface uneconomical or even unjust often upsets the whole economic equilibrium, and may ruin the energy of the people in industry. Something of this kind is to be seen as the result of discouraging large tribal feasts, whether economic or of a mortuary or other ceremonial character.[1] To sum up, a knowledge of the economic psychology of native peoples, of the motives which induce them to work, of the general regulation of their industrial life, of the native system of transfer of goods and of land tenure is of direct practical utility.

Such a study can be made to serve the needs of trader, settler, plantation manager or Government administrator, each of whom in different fashion is confronted by problems arising out of his direct economic relation to the native. Moreover, it will help to preserve the native himself.

[1] For example, the harmful interference with *Soi* and other feasts in certain districts of Papua, shown by W. E. Armstrong, *Anthropology Report*, No. 1, 1921, 30–2, 34–8.

But the scientist is not required to justify his field of research by reference to the possibilities of its practical application. It is sufficient for our purpose to call attention to the fact that the study of the economic organization of primitive peoples deals with a fundamental aspect of human culture. With the growing realization of the world-wide character of economic relations and the deepening intensity of our contact with native races the study of primitive economics tends also to develop—being one consequence of " the reflex of thought in phenomena newly emerging ".

Chapter II

THE MAORI AND HIS ECONOMIC RESOURCES

"*Tohea, ki te tohe o te kai.*"
"Be strenuous, persevere as in the struggle for food."
Maori Proverb.

After this preliminary consideration of the work accomplished in the study of primitive economics and the various methods of approach hitherto adopted, we may now proceed, on the lines of the plan sketched out in the latter part of the preceding chapter, to analyse the structure of Maori economic organization.

The Land and the People

To understand Maori life, one must try and visualize the land of Aotea-roa (New Zealand) as it was in the days before the foot of the *pakeha* had trodden its shores. Superficially there have been great changes in the last century and a half, the forest has fled before axe and fire, but the essential features of the country remain the same.

There is a great diversity of scenery, from the warm bays of the north to the volcanic lava-strewn mountains of the central plateau, and the cold, white peaks and glaciers of the Southern Alps. In some parts stretches a deeply indented coast-line, forest-clad to the water's edge, brown and rugged cliffs alternating with sandy bays and secluded harbours. The western shores bear a wilder and more grand aspect, the cliffs loftier and more forbidding, fewer inlets, and at times long stretches of beach, surf-battered, running smooth for miles along a wind-swept coast. From a rocky headland, bathed in sunlight, one looks along a beach of black iron-sand, sparkling from a myriad tiny points, bordered inland by grey dunes and the leafy green of the bush, while to seaward the great rollers of the Tasman, moving on in ceaseless procession, shatter themselves with a pulsating roar into lines of hissing white foam. So one can understand the reference in the Maori watchman's song :—

Whakapuru tonu, whakapuru tonu
Te tai ki Harihari ;
Ka tangi tiere
Te tai ki Mokau.[1]

Pent back, pent back, the thundering surf resounds
On Harihari's cliffs ;
With hollow tone the wailing sea
Beats on the Mokau coast.

The gannet dives, the gulls cry ; no other living thing is seen. Mile after mile stretches the unbroken coast, till in the far distance the eye loses sense of form and shape in the shimmering blue haze. Inland, as covering for the Earth Mother, lies the dark forest with its mosses and drooping ferns, the virgin bush, broken only by the tiny clearings of neolithic man. At times it gives way to rolling open fern-lands, to tussock or swamp or the sage-green *manuka* scrub. Such is the face of Nature in the home of the ancient Maori.

To turn now to the more prosaic features of the topography. The country on the whole is rugged. A main mountain chain, running parallel with the major part of the coast-line, forms the backbone of both islands, attaining in the north a height of only three thousand to six thousand feet, but much more lofty in the south, culminating in the peak of Ao-rangi, twelve thousand feet above sea level. Towards the centre of the North Island also occur a series of volcanic peaks and cones, while even the remainder of the country is broken by subsidiary ranges and hilly areas. In the North Island, says the Maori in his myth, these were the result of the convulsions of the fish of Maui, which, being hauled up to the surface by that culture-hero to be as a source of food for man, was thoughtlessly slashed and tasted ere the *tapu* could be lifted from it, and so struggled till it died. Hence come mountains and valleys as the wrinkles and folds in its skin. The land is well watered, streams and rivers being plentiful, and though as a rule somewhat swift, offering in their lower reaches scope for canoeing. The lake system of the country is well developed. The lakes are concentrated mainly in the central district of the North Island, where they are due to volcanic action, and the more southerly part of the South Island,

[1] J. Cowan, *D.M.B.* 3. The song has become well-known to New Zealanders through the effective rendering of Te Rangi Hiroa.

A. NEW ZEALAND COASTAL SCENERY
A view of the beach at Piha, a typical Western bay.

B. NATIVE BUSH
This so-called " bush " still covers large areas in New Zealand.

[*face p.* 34

where they have resulted from glacial movement. They were useful both for transport and food supply to the dwellers on their shores.

The climate of New Zealand is temperate, but with considerable variation owing to the great range of latitude of these islands (34° S.–47° S.). It is almost sub-tropical in the Northern Peninsula, but grows distinctly colder as one approaches the south. In the former region, even the depth of winter sees no snow. In the latter the climate is still fairly mild, but snow-falls are comparatively frequent on the higher levels. This climatic variation had considerable effect upon the situation of the natives in the corresponding areas, especially in the matter of clothing and of cultivated foods. In general there is no lack of rain, though here again there is considerable variation, owing to the interception of the rain-bearing winds from the west by the central mountain chain. For this reason the bush of the western districts, more particularly in the South Island, tends to be more luxuriant. There is no rainy period, as in the Tropics, and the seasonal change, though marked, is by no means extreme.[1]

The flora presents a great diversity, both in number of species and variety of plant associations. The lowland and mountain forests are generally of the sub-tropical rain-forest type, dim-lit, sombre and evergreen, the giant trees rising from dense masses of undergrowth, luxuriant in ferns and mosses, with trailing epiphytic plants perched on the massive trunks of their hosts. The dark leaf-mould is underfoot, tree ferns and the *nikau* palm rise gracefully at intervals, while the supple-jack and the clinging bush-lawyer lurk to retard the step. In the flora of the higher mountain sides the beech forest holds the field, to be replaced at greater altitudes by the sub-alpine vegetation, low and stunted, with its diversity of small plants. In some parts of the country in former times grasslands or tussock were to be seen, the latter denoting, maybe, a less fertile region, but more frequently the open land was clothed with the ubiquitous bracken or the sage-like *manuka* scrub.

Of animal life in pre-European days, there was a remarkable

[1] The Auckland region, especially from Auckland city northwards, has a decidedly rainy season, much the greater part of its rainfall coming in the winter and spring. The summer, also, is distinctly dry, though it does not exhibit that complete drought which is characteristic of the true Mediterranean type of climate. But south of the Waikato the rainfall becomes increasingly well distributed throughout the year.

scarcity, except as regards avifauna. The only indigenous land mammal was the bat ; lizards, and that hoary survivor of bygone ages, the spined *tuatara* (*Sphenodon punctatus*), represented the reptiles ; the rat, which the Maori claims as an immigrant in the ancestral canoes, and the dog, a domesticated type, made up the tale of animals. Of bird life, however, there was no lack. The gentle pigeon, the parrot of harsh voice, and the silver-tongued parson-bird or *tui—kukupa, kaka,* and *koko,* the trio of onomatopœic name—were abundant, and furnished many a toothsome meal to the forest-dweller. Then the *kiwi,* the quaint Apteryx, the *kakapo* or ground parrot, and the thieving *weka,* the flightless rail with his eerie cry, with bell-bird, robin, owl, parakeet, *kea, huia,* and many other lesser species also peopled the bush. Swamp, shore, and the open sea, too, each had its feathered folk. Altogether there were over two hundred species in New Zealand of great diversity of type and habit. Fish of many species were plentiful round the coast, about thirty-five kinds being used for food, while the eel and sometimes other freshwater fish, together with the succulent crayfish, inhabited inland lakes and streams.

Geologically the country presents a number of features of interest, but for our purpose the main question lies in the availability of raw material for implements. The nature of the mineral resources denied to the Maori the use of metals. Suitable stone for tools, however, occurred in many parts, while obsidian and nephrite were to be found in a few localities.

So much for the land ; now for the people. Physically the Maori was of a type which enabled him to cope vigorously with the exigencies of a somewhat rough life. Fairly tall, and well built, he cultivated by war, games, and manly exercises the qualities of strength, speed, quickness, and endurance. These were always turned to account in the pursuits of daily life, and earned social approbation for the person who displayed them. His women, too, were strong, deep-bosomed, and broad-hipped, able to bear burdens or children with equal ease. They accompanied their menfolk in many arduous pursuits—where the *tapu* did not interfere—and were sometimes to be found at their side even in war. Graceful and supple in early years through *haka* and *poi,* the famous native dances, they were apt to become bent in later life, through the drudgery of carrying firewood and food. The Maori man, however, was no shirker. He belied the

A. A HAURAKI CHIEF

The cloak round his shoulders is of the *korowai* type, with black thrums.

B. A MAORI GIRL.

Her features are of the general Polynesian type.

[*face p.* 36

generalizations of some theorists as to the indolence of savages by tackling the heavier tasks and doing his fair share of the communal work.

The Maori may be said to have had a cult of fitness, but such an expression must not be pushed too far. By social approval, by the instruction of elders, the young man strove to render himself strong and agile. It is erroneous, however, to interpret all his dances, games, and practice in the exercises of war as rational and deliberately planned attempts to secure the proper working of the bodily functions and to further the ends of race improvement. The savage is no scientific hygenist. The Maori was fit because of his mode of life; he did not think out his mode of life in order to be fit. By interpreting Maori social institutions in terms of this hygenic purpose, recent writers have gone sadly astray.[1]

Research in recent years has shown that the Maori, like their Polynesian kinsmen, do not form that pure uniform race which they were once thought to represent. Several types have been tentatively distinguished by investigators such as Dixon, Sullivan, and Buck, chiefly by working on cephalic (or cranial) and nasal indices, and the results broadly coincide. More extensive research may be expected to establish the definite presence of several distinct strains in the Maori population as now constituted.

Concrete hypotheses of a succession of ethnic waves, built up on these grounds, however, have usually involved a number of assumptions as to the effects of contact of cultures, and "fusion" of different racial stocks which must be regarded as arbitrary, in the present state of our knowledge. In certain parts of New Zealand there is a larger percentage of broad heads than in others, generally in the more rugged upland districts or those far removed from the landing-places of the canoes of the last migrants of whom tradition tells. But in the mixed population which now obtains, this—even when studied in conjunction with traditional lore—cannot be held to establish definitely the priority of a broad-headed stock in the land. Even let us neglect the possibility of the immigrants having undergone the fusion of stocks before entry into New Zealand, and having been subject there to differentiation on climatic, physical,

[1] An example of this enthusiastic rationalization and persevering distortion of native customs and ideas is afforded by Miss Ettie A. Rout in *Maori Symbolism*, 1926, and *Native Diet*, 1926.

or social grounds. The effects of the influence of racial admixture, and of changed geographical or cultural environment on stature, facial characters, and head-form, are still far too little known to allow of the separation of certain elements in the present population into a distinct type which can be identified with a hypothetical ethnic stratum of six hundred years ago. It should be clearly recognized that any analysis which establishes on legitimate grounds the existence of several physical types in the Maori population of to-day does not *ipso facto* give proof of theories of ethnic origins. No satisfactory formula has as yet been obtained for the correlation between race and physical type, and the conditions of persistence or modification of the latter still wait to be adequately determined. This being so, the distribution of variations in cranial indices in a population cannot be taken as any very definite evidence for the historical composition of that people.

This word of criticism as to the basic assumptions of hypotheses of ethnic waves is in no way intended to detract from the value of anthropometrical studies *per se*; the problems of race, of physical type and their relation to environment offer an extensive field of study, and the analysis of the Maori population of to-day into its component elements, a work energetically prosecuted by Dr. Buck, is an important contribution to this end.[1]

All that is immediately required here, however, is to give some idea of the appearance and bodily character of the native.

In general there may be said to be two main physical types among these people. In feature the Maori often has a long head, narrow nose, thin lips, light skin, and wavy hair, but frequently, again, he displays the broad head, broad nose, thick lips, darker skin and frizzy hair which have been held to denote the admixture of a Melanesian strain. His complexion is brown, and he is also characterized by brown eyes shaded by long lashes. On the whole his face is broad, his forehead high, his mouth large and firm, with a strong jaw and well-cut lips, rather full. The teeth are fairly large, strongly set, white and even. From dental caries he was remarkably free. In regard to skulls that the writer collected at different times, remark was continually made on the excellent preservation of the teeth. Worn they might be, but they were sound. In recent times the teeth of Maori young

[1] v. especially his "Maori Somatology," *J.P.S.*, xxxi, 37–44, 145–53, 159–70; xxxii, 21–8, 189–99.

A. A TATTOOED WARRIOR

Some of the men of rank were distinctly aristocratic in feature and bearing.

B. A MAORI WOMAN

She is wearing a *hei matau*, a prized greenstone neck ornament in the shape of a fish-hook. This physical type may be compared with that of Plate II B.

[*face p.* 38

people, however, are said to suffer from caries, probably as the result of change of diet.

The intellectual capabilities of the native were of a high order. In this respect exact measurements are most difficult to obtain. But from the impressions of contact in daily life one can gauge fairly accurately the measure of a man, and no one who has known the Maori at all well has failed to pay tribute to his intelligent outlook. One has only to study the dignified and far-seeing attitude adopted by most native chiefs in their dealings with white men in the matter of land, to become aware of their comprehensive grasp of wide issues. And in more prosaic affairs of work, the use of tools, the following out of a sequence of operations, or foreseeing the results of action, the Maori has shown himself capable of intelligent appreciation. With initiative and quickness of perception he is well endowed.

Such were some of the most salient features of his equipment for the task of subduing the environment to his needs. Considering the acknowledged high mental status of the Maori it is rather interesting to note his lack of a highly developed material culture, as compared with the intensity of spirit expressed in his carving, his oratory, his poetry and songs.

The Problem of Environment and Economic Life

A review of their environmental conditions must be a primary feature in any inquiry into the economic life of a people. Climate, topography, vegetation, animal life, and the nature of man—a knowledge of each is requisite for the study of economic adjustment. Thus some indication has already been given as to the limitations placed upon the activity of the Maori by his natural surroundings, and as to the type of economic resources at his command. This picture will also form a useful background to the detailed description given in later chapters.

Economic activity on its productive side represents primarily an attempt to bring the natural environment under the service of man, a fact which raises the question as to the precise character of the relationship subsisting between these two agents. The general problem of determinism which for a long time occupied the attention of sociologists—largely from the philosophic standpoint—need not detain us here. A brief reference to the two main schools of thought on this question will suffice

as an introduction to our analysis of the Maori economic situation.

In the opinion of Buckle, Ratzel, and more recently, Miss Semple, Huntington, and other geographers, the aggregate of the physical qualities of a region is assigned pride of place as the major cultural determinant. Man himself is not denied all initiative, but emphasis is laid upon what Vidal-Lablache terms "the sovereign influence of environment". Ellsworth Huntington, for example, places great stress on climatic conditions as the principal agent, working through natural selection and tending to eliminate those who do not conform. On the other hand, workers in anthropology are prone to see in the culture-environment relation a drama of the mastery of man, not his subjection. Human mental endowment has the greatest weight as a cultural determinant. One great factor often stressed by such authorities is diffusion, the transmission of elements of culture from one people to another with but slight environmental modification.

If then in the light of these controversial issues we subject the Maori culture to scrutiny several facts are perceived. It is patent that the natural environment formed an indispensable pre-requisite of the economic activity of the native. His material culture was based upon the biological resources and geological character of the country. The plants, birds, and fish drawn upon for food, the materials used for tools and clothing, could only be of the type which the land produced. The geographical distribution of the people themselves bore a certain relation to the position of natural resources. The various groups tended to congregate near the sources of food supplies, as evidenced by the many wars fought for the possession of fertile lands, swamp areas or prolific forests, in the vicinity of which the tribe wished to settle. In rugged country, the population was small, whereas on the rich-soiled plains there naturally tended to be a greater concentration. Moreover, certain forms of the economic organization resulted from the geographical distribution of the fauna, flora, and minerals. The trade in greenstone, for example, was due to the fact that the source of this mineral was limited to a fairly small district in the South Island; with *mata tuhua*, obsidian, the case was somewhat similar, the east coast in the vicinity of the Bay of Plenty yielding an important supply. The constant exchange

of birds for fish and other sea foods between inland and coastal tribes was due to the economic advantages of their respective situation. Moreover, the nature of trees, the properties of stone, and the habits of birds and fish pointed to certain forms of technique and organization as likely to secure the best results in dealing with them.

On the one side, then, the objects of economic desire, and the type of organization adopted to secure them, were correlated to the specific nature of the environment.

But arrived at this juncture one cannot press the point much further, and assume any strict determination. For though material culture is ultimately based upon natural surroundings, in many of its forms it shows no direct and necessary relation to environmental stimuli. The war canoe of the Maori was hewn out of a *totara* tree, which possessed the most serviceable qualities for the manufacture of large sea-going vessels. But specific details of the craft, the elaborate ornamentation of the prow, the beautiful spirals of the stern-piece can in no way be regarded as products of a purely environmental adjustment. Though limited in style and execution by the nature of the medium and the character of the tools employed, in general form and motif these characteristics were dependent on quite another set of factors. So too with economic organization: in its more complex forms, as, for instance, the gift-exchange, environment as a determinant was of small moment. In decorative art, such factors as the desire for æsthetic expression, the respect for tribal ancestors, and conformity to traditional methods mould the work; in the system of exchange, notions of etiquette and liberality combine with a deep-rooted desire for reputation and influence. Such factors are not environmental.

There is no need to labour the point. It is enough to observe that even in the domain of economic organization and material culture, which of all aspects are most closely in touch with the natural environment and have as their primary object the reduction of certain of its features to man's service, no rigid determining relation can be held to exist. The economic life is regulated by a complex set of motives, feelings, and concepts depending upon the psychology of man in his social relations, and moulded by the forces of culture and tradition. It is unquestionably in its primary function an adjustment to

environment. But as Goldenweiser points out, it is not the only possible adjustment, nor is it perhaps even the most efficient one. Environment thus sets a boundary which man must not overstep, but within which he may work out his own economic adjustment with reference to all kinds of social considerations.[1]

To formulate an answer to our general problem, then, it may be said that the natural environment of the Maori formed, not the prime determinant, but the *limiting condition* of his economic activity, within which the various biological and cultural forces of his social structure found their expression.

The relation of the Maori to his natural surroundings may be analysed a step further, in examining his general economic attitude towards them. To understand what interest he took in his environment, what he thought and felt and knew about it, is necessary to the proper realization of the nature of his economic activity.

Economic Lore

Knowledge is the essential preliminary to effective use. And the Maori of olden times was remarkably well versed in all matters pertaining to his natural surroundings. The term " economic lore " may be used to denote this knowledge as applied to the solution of his economic problems. In matters affecting animals, minerals, plants, or the heavenly bodies the economic lore of the native was full and varied. Every man was not of course an expert, but the specialist in each craft has been proved to possess a very wide knowledge of natural phenomena in his own line of work. An appeal to language is by no means a conclusive test of the extent of knowledge, but the scope and variety of terminology, and the class of objects which it includes within its categories, give at least a rough indication of the type of economic lore in possession of the society. The wealth of vocabulary of the Maori in dealing with trees, birds, shrubs, plants, stones, fish, clouds, winds, and stars is truly surprising. Best [2] gives one hundred bird

[1] If we compare the old Maori life with the way in which the present population of New Zealand exploits the same natural resources it will at once become evident that though environment limits and conditions, it does not dictate the form of economic organization.

[2] Best, " Maori Forest Lore," *T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 452. Archdeacon H. W. Williams, investigating Maori bird names, found that the natives distinguished one hundred species, a number of these being known by several names. The total list of bird names, including local variants, is over six hundred.

names representing some fifty species known to the Tuhoe people, two hundred and eighty plant names, and some sixty names for insects, earthworms, and the like, while his notes on this forest lore as gleaned from the natives run to one hundred and seventy pages. And this represents " only the fragments " of the knowledge of the old men of the Urewera, a single tribal district. Of Tutakangahau, a chief of this people, it is said, " His mind was a storehouse of primitive lore. He knew the old Native names of every tree, shrub, plant, or fern in the forests of Tuhoeland."

Again Best states : " Every plant and fern had its name in Maoriland ; the knowledge in woodcraft displayed by the elderly men is most complete, and such men are extremely interesting companions in the bush. They also have names for all the many varieties of fungi, toadstools, etc." [1]

It is doubtful if this interest of the Maori in his surroundings was solely a matter of their economic or practical utility to him. The statement has been made that the native lacks any intelligent interest in plants, trees, insects, and the like, save where they help to satisfy his wants, or by some striking peculiarity appeal to his sense of the strange or grotesque. With the Maori this hardly seems to be the case. It is only natural that the knowledge of the features of his environment should be much fuller and more detailed in respect of those objects which have a definite practical interest for him ; it is unquestionable that the greater part of the fund of information pertaining to birds, plants, and minerals was accumulated directly on this basis of economic interest. At the same time this is not inconsistent with a certain desire to obtain knowledge for its own sake, to observe and describe with accuracy, with the object of better classification. This state of mind, akin to scientific curiosity, does not seem to be entirely lacking in primitive man, if one is to judge from Maori evidence. But this is a subject which so far has attracted little attention from field-workers. For further and conclusive evidence we must rely on more extensive research.

A scrutiny of the mass of data setting forth the nature lore of the Maori, however, indicates that some portion of this knowledge, such as that regarding the habits of the smaller

[1] " Maori Nomenclature," *J.R.A.I.*, xxxii, 1902, 197 ; v. also W. H. Skinner, *Taranaki Eighty Years Ago*, 15.

birds, and the characteristics of the less important plants and insects was not founded on purely practical considerations or on the exceptional qualities of the objects. Moreover, the native displayed considerable accuracy of observation, enabling him to discover certain of the less obvious of natural phenomena, and also to elucidate the affinities of a number of animals and plants. Thus he was acquainted with the movements of sap in trees, and so cut off the tops of certain species of *Cordyline*, intended for food, before the sap rose in the spring.[1] He was also aware of the facts of genesis of plants from seeds, and had noted the seasons of spawning and maturity in the case of such creatures as crayfish. The metamorphoses of insects were also known to the Maori. Again, Shortland even obtained from natives a very accurate account of the mode of growth of a remarkable parasitic fungus in relation to its insect host—that which is usually termed the vegetable caterpillar. According to Colenso, the native had also perceived the affinities of some species of plants which are botanically allied, but superficially dissimilar, and had given expression to this by assigning to them parallel names. He mentions two species in each case of *kowhai* (*Clianthus* and *Sophora*), *Fagus*, *Solanum*, and *Olea* as being so recognized.[2] On the other hand, extensive discrimination between closely allied species seems to have been lacking, and the criteria of differentiation were often those which botanical science has shown to be subordinate or irrelevant. Also, errors in classification often seem to have been made. Thus natives attribute a difference in sex to some forest trees which the botanist recognizes as being of different species, though of the same genus ; also they classify the bat as a bird (*manu*).[3] But on the whole, the categories which they employ in the classification of birds, plants, etc., are surprisingly exact, and indicate close observation. Mixed with much crude statement is a lot of real botanical and zoological knowledge.[4]

[1] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xl, 233. The *Cordyline*, which somewhat resembles a palm, has been beautifully named "cabbage-tree" by the European! The Maori generic name is *Ti*.

[2] W. Colenso, "On the Maori Races of New Zealand," 29 (essay in *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 1868).

[3] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xl, 230 ; xli, 277.

[4] Johannes C. Andersen, who has recently made a thorough investigation of the question of New Zealand plant nomenclature, remarks : "The Maori was a prolific name-giver ; and his names show him to have been possessed of a keen sense of discrimination, so that many of those names may be adopted without

A certain degree of æsthetic interest in his environment must also not be denied to the native. Apart from the abundant use of metaphor and simile derived from nature in his poetry, his speeches, and his proverbs, the Maori also showed himself appreciative of landscape. Thus a village site was often chosen in order to give a fine view, and trees which were held to enhance the appearance of the hamlet were not cut down, even though firewood had to be fetched from a considerable distance.[1]

But to return to economic lore. Apart from the rich system of nomenclature which the Maori employed to designate the features of his natural environment, he also possessed a very detailed knowledge of its relevant properties. The workable quality, hardness, and durability of many kinds of woods, as well as their colour and grain ; the nature of rock and stone ; the position of the stars and movement of the planets ; the properties of berries, barks, fungi, flowers, grasses, and roots ; the habits of fish, birds, and rats were all matters which were known to the skilled men of olden days. An interesting example of such knowledge applied to economic ends is the conversion of the poisonous kernels of the *karaka* and berries of the *tutu* into useful food—the toxic properties being removed by prolonged steaming in the one case and expression of the seeds in the other. An example of simple forest lore and observation is furnished by an old expert, Tamati Ranapiri. In travelling through a forest a person finds a pool of water. If he be a knowing man (*tangata mohio*) he at once examines the adjacent trees, and if he discovers scratchings made by the feet of the *kereru* (pigeon) thereon, he knows that the pool is used by these birds for drinking, and at once proceeds to set snares around the water.[2] Best says of the expert in forest lore, " He knew by long experience just how, and when, and where to take each species of bird. At any time he knew where each species was to be found, what fruit or other food it was living on, and whether or not it would respond to a lure call, or must be

fear of confusion, and more are being adopted from year to year " (*T.N.Z.I.*, lvi, 670, 1926) ; v. also ibid., lvii, 906, 1927 ; cf., too, T. Kirk, *Forest Flora of New Zealand*, 1889, p. v ; L. Cockayne, *New Zealand Plants and their Story*, 1910, 144, 150, 153–4. Speaking of birds, Archdeacon Williams says : " The ancient Maori was a close observer of nature, but was not skilled in the nice distinctions which appeal to a trained ornithologist " (*J.P.S.*, xv, 1906, 197).

[1] The Maori appreciated an extensive view, and often cleared the *taumata okiokinga*, the resting-places on the brow of a hill, in order, it is said on good authority, that he might enjoy the outlook (*J.P.S.*, xiv, 137).

[2] *J.P.S.*, iv, 133, 145.

speared, or taken by *mutu* or *tahei* [types of snaring apparatus]. He knew just when to lay aside the snare and take up the spear. He knew all the calls, habits, tricks, wiles, foods, and ways of the feathered children of Tane." [1]

Persons possessing a store of information of this type were held in great repute. The term *atangarahu* was often used for such, denoting a man skilled in all kinds of devices and stratagems for snaring rats and birds, catching fish, or accomplishing other activities. Such a man was the legendary Aio-rangi of old, skilled in seamanship, who is described as " *he tangata whakahaere tika tera, he mohio ona ki nga tikanga o te moana, mo te kino, mo te pai*—a competent director, having knowledge of the ways of the ocean, as to propitious and unpropitious times ".[2]

The gift of observation was exercised in establishing an approximate correlation between several sets of natural phenomena. The flowering of certain trees, noted as being coincident with other natural processes of direct economic importance, was thus utilized to mark the time for the beginning of work in these activities. At a certain time of the year the bracken tops were burnt off in order to prepare for the digging of the edible roots and to render them of a good white colour. The signal for this was given by the flowering of the *hinau* and *tawari.* If the people waited till the *rata* and *korukoru* blossoms appeared, then it would be too late and the fern root would be brown and of inferior quality.[3] The withering of the *raupo* reed-blades, the fall of the *kotukutuku* (fuschia) leaves and the heliacal rising of the Pleiades were signs that certain species of birds were now in good condition, and snaring was accordingly regulated by these indications. Again, the first appearance of Whanui (Vega) on the eastern horizon was utilized to mark the time for lifting the *kumara* (sweet potato) crop.[4] Thus Aperahama Taonui writing in *Te Wananga* of 16th August, 1877, gives an old saying :—

" *Ka puta Matariki, ka rere Whanui*
Ko te tohu o te tau."

" The Pleiades come forth, Vega starts its flight,
Being the sign of the year." [5]

[1] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 470.
[2] Te Kahui Kararehe, *J.P.S.*, vii, 58, 62 (trans. by S. Percy Smith).
[3] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xl, 234.
[4] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xli, 246.
[5] Quoted by Hare Hongi, *Maori-English Tutor*, 205.

The Maori of olden times was a close and accurate observer of celestial phenomena, and gave names to a great variety of stars and planets. The identification of these by us is rendered difficult, *inter alia*, by the fact that they were often organized by the native astronomer into constellations different from the grouping familiar to European observers. The Pleiades—termed by the native "Te Huihui o Matariki", "the assembly of Matariki"—are a group of stars recognized by both peoples, but "Te Hao o Rua", "the Net of Rua", an unidentified constellation near Orion, "Te Waka o Tamarereti," "The Canoe of Tamarereti" (the Tail of the Scorpion) and others less accurately determined indicate a different system of grouping by the native.

The astronomy of the Maori was not of a purely abstract kind; the observation of the heavenly bodies was charged with a vivid human interest, in that stars and planets served as guides to man. The practical nature of the native astronomical lore is shown by the way in which it so largely concerned itself with the regulation of economic activities.

In the first place the observation of celestial phenomena provided an abundance of signs (*tohu*) real or imaginary, by which to predict the aspect of the coming season and the fertility of crops. The star Whai-tiri-papa gave important signs regarding sea-fish; Autahi (Canopus) was utilized in navigation and as a token of the migration of the *inanga* (whitebait) to the sea. Its first appearance also marked the coming of frost. From the Milky Way, Sirius, Rigel, Jupiter, and others were derived weather signs, while the Magellan Clouds gave warning of coming winds.[1]

The stars were not only regarded as tokens of what was to come, but were also held to exert in some measure an influence on future conditions and welfare. Because of their supposed fecundating powers an appeal to promote the growth of food was sometimes made to the most important of them in the first-fruits ceremony. Some heavenly bodies were conceived as having responsible duties to perform. Thus the task of Matariki, the Pleiades, was to keep moving in a cluster, to foretell fat and lean seasons, and to bring food supplies for man; while the task of Whanui (Vega) was to provide *kumara* for the people.

[1] E. Best, *Astronomical Knowledge of the Maori*, D.M. Monograph No. 3, *passim*.

So says the Maori. The opening lines of a lullaby song to a child are :—

> You come hither from the realm of Rigel,
> From the Assembly of the Pleiades,
> From Jupiter, and from Altair,
> These alone, O child, are the stars
> Which provide food at Aotea.[1]

Celestial phenomena were of the greatest importance in the control of work. The cosmic rising of stars was largely utilized to determine the seasonal phases of industry. Puanga (Rigel), Matariki (the Pleiades), Tautoru (Orion's Belt), and Whakuahu (? Castor) were observed in order to regulate the planting of the *kumara*, and according to the manner of their rising, the crops would be set in early or late. Such sayings as " When Matariki is seen the game is preserved ", " When Matariki is seen by the eye of man, then the lamprey is caught ", " the food supplies of Matariki, by her scooped up ", indicate still further the correlation of the Pleiades with economic pursuits. As already noted the heliacal rising of Whanui (Vega) gave the sign to dig the *kumara* crop. For the Maori the observation of celestial phenomena was charged with a strong economic interest.

Consideration of these aspects of knowledge has indicated the type and extent of the economic lore possessed by the native. Similar examples with regard to other departments of work can be found in plenty in the many published papers dealing with the food and crafts of the ancient Maori. Much of this mass of accumulated knowledge was permeated by magical belief, myth or fabulous narrative, but there existed, nevertheless, a distinct and comprehensive body of scientific data founded upon keenness of observation and an acute perception of minute differences.

A word may be said here as to the magico-religious attitude of the Maori in relation to the forest, an attitude born of concepts and beliefs which help to throw light upon his economic behaviour. At all times a certain amount of sacredness pertained to the forest, not only as a source of food, but because of its connexion with the gods. This has been made clear by Elsdon Best, as the result of his collection of much mytho-

[1] Best, op. cit., 5.

logical lore. For in the night of time, Tane, the Fertilizer, one of the most important of the Children of Heaven and Earth, produced the forest with its trees, shrubs, and parasitic plants. Then by union with various other female beings, he produced the many species of birds. Hence is the forest termed *Te wao tapu nui a Tane* (the great sacred forest of Tane). As tutelary deity of trees he is known as Tane-mahuta, and as guardian of birds, Tane-mataahi. But Tane, later on, was also the progenitor of man. Hence there is kinship between man, trees, and birds. So on witnessing the felling of a tree a Maori might exclaim " O, Tane has fallen " ; or in speaking to some one about a prized timber tree such as the *totara*, he would often say, " That is your ancestor, Tane." [1] Such a mythological conception naturally influenced the native with regard to his dealings with his environment. It gave a definite import to his relations with natural objects, and caused him to regard them as being in some degree akin to himself.

A somewhat similar conception, though much further developed, is to be found in the attitude of Oriental painters towards landscape and flowers, insects, trees, and birds. The artist is not attempting to portray something external to himself and divorced from his spirit. The life of man is a part of the life of nature. It is the recognition of this kinship, the sense of one rhythm pervading the whole of life that gives to the Chinese artist his sympathetic interpretation of nature. But the Maori sacred mythology, with its accompanying ceremonial actions, cannot be too closely aligned with the philosophical idealism of the Oriental sage. If we study it from the sociological point of view, this native system of mythology would appear to have the function of providing a precedent and a justification for the body of ritual observances which mark the importance to the Maori of the forest and its products.

Utilization of Natural Surroundings

We may now turn to view the general problem from another angle and consider the extent to which the environment was drawn upon by the Maori to satisfy his wants. A brief review of the more important features in turn will indicate this utilization of natural surroundings.

[1] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xl, 185–9.

Much of the raw material of industry was provided by the forest. Trees of huge girth and tall trunk such as the *kauri* of the north, the soft *kahikatea* or the much more favoured *totara* were at hand for any large undertaking, while a variety of lesser timbers of a wide range of hardness and durability offered wood of eminently workable quality for almost any purpose. Bark for roofing and for household vessels, *raupo* leaves for thatching and hut-walls, *kakaho* flower-culms of the *toetoe* grass for lining, *aka* creepers for eel-pots and lashings, fibrous leaf-blades of *toi*, *kiekie*, and the indispensable *harakeke* or native flax for clothing, cordage, and nets were all obtained from the forest or the swamp. Dyes were also prepared from bark, black from the *hinau*, yellow from the *karamu*, and brown from the *tanekaha*.

Mineral resources were exploited freely for tools. Thus the black *kara* (basalt), different varieties of greywacke, and other rocks furnished stone for adze-blades, pounders, and sinkers, while obsidian flakes gave a keen edge for small knife-like implements. The *pounamu*, the much prized nephrite, supplied material for superior adzes and chisels, as well as for neck and ear ornaments of various types. Sandstone was used for grinding, quartzite for drill-points, an ochreous red earth gave the *kokowai* with which woodwork was painted and the human body adorned, while, more rarely, a blue clay was used for personal decoration and the painting of house rafters.

Animal products, again, were converted to serviceable ends. Thus whalebone supplied combs, neck ornaments, cloak pins, carver's mallets, fish-hook barbs, and striking weapons; dog skins and the feathers of birds were utilized for superior cloaks, and bird bone gave the toggles for neck pendants. With perfect equity, man himself was sometimes laid under contribution for a leg or an arm-bone wherefrom to fashion the barb of a bird spear, or, in the interest of the aesthetic arts, a flute. Being from the limb of an enemy, this latter instrument afforded peculiarly sweet music.

We may now turn to the question of food supply, as yet unmentioned. Here again uncultivated products from forest or heath were of great value. Trees such as *kahikatea*, *rimu*, *matai*, *miro*, and *maire* provided berries which could be eaten or to which the birds flocked. The drupes of *hinau* yielded an edible pulp, and those of the *tawa* and *karaka* a kernel as well,

while the *tawai* fruit, a kind of beech-mast, was eaten by the little frugivorous rat, whom the Maori ate in his turn. The fleshy bracts of the root-climbing *tawhara*, the *perei* orchid, the young fronds of the *mauku*, the soft interior of the young *mamaku* tree fern, the *nikau* palm, and several species of *ti*, the much maligned " cabbage tree " of the European, also furnished vegetable food. Then there was that indispensable plant, the *aruhe*, the bracken, the edible rhizomes of which formed one of the staple articles of diet, and provided a very efficient stand-by in case of distress. Altogether, the uncultivated vegetable products gleaned by the native constituted a most important part of his food supply.

In addition, the rat and many species of birds were largely drawn upon for flesh-food by the forest-dwelling tribes. On the coast, fish of various kinds were caught by net and line. Inland, freshwater fish and *koura* (crayfish) were taken, while bobbing, spearing, and trapping in rivers, streams, and swamps gave the eel, a very palatable addition to the bill of fare.

A large amount of vegetable food was also cultivated, more particularly in the north, and for this purpose the Maori took full advantage of the varying qualities of the soil. This in many parts is of exceeding fertility, as for instance in the volcanic districts of the north, the alluvial lands of the Bay of Plenty, or the rich plains of Taranaki. Turi, captain of the Aotea canoe, is reported to have smelled the latter on his arrival six hundred years ago and to have pronounced it rich and fertile. Hence the soil of the district of Patea is known as " *Te whenua i hongia e Turi* (the land that Turi smelled) ".[1] On the other hand, the clays of a part of the Auckland peninsula and the pumice lands of the Taupo plateau, for example, do not represent such good soil for agriculture. The Maori was well acquainted with the properties of soils for cultivation and knew how to treat them to secure good results. Best in his work on *Maori Agriculture* gives a list of over thirty soil names.[2] But the most important limitation imposed on the range of cultivation for the Maori of olden days lay in the climatic conditions. Thus the *kumara* could not be grown by the people of the

[1] T. G. Hammond, *Story of Aotea*, 155–6.

[2] Best, *D.M.B.*, No. 9, 1925, pp. 19–20. According to Dieffenbach, an early observer, the Maori was a good judge of soils, and had a name for each kind (*Travels*, ii, 123).

Urewera mountains, nor by the tribes of the greater part of the South Island, except in certain favoured localities.

A Human Ecology

It is important in the study of Maori economics to realize the diversity in the mode of life of the native in different parts of New Zealand. Best [1] divides the Maori economy into four phases with reference to climate and fertility of soil, on the basis of the importance of the part played by cultivation in affording food supply. Other schemes of division might also be drawn up, separating tribes according as to whether their main livelihood was gained by agriculture, fishing, or the utilization of forest products. Such schemes are but a rough guide to classification, since most tribes, besides their main food-producing occupation, had other supplementary sources of income. Nevertheless, the distinction is a relevant and important one,[2] and the discussions on fishing, birding, agriculture, and the like, which appear in the body of this work, must be taken as referring only to those respective people with whom such were regular and important occupations.

In general the tribes of Auckland and the North, the Bay of Plenty, Tauranga and the remainder of the East Coast, Taranaki, Nelson, and the Kaiapohia district practised agriture. The people of the West Coast and the larger part of the South Island, as also Taupo and the Urewera, gained their living chiefly from forest products, augmented largely in the case of Whanganui by eels. Another specific source of food was worked by the Arawa tribes, with whom freshwater fish, crayfish, and *kakahi* (mussels) from the lakes formed a substantial part of the provision stocks. The fern root was available to all tribes, and constituted a staple food-product, while the coastal people, especially to the east, drew a large portion of their sustenance from fish. But it must be made

[1] *Maori Agriculture*, p. 9.

[2] In *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, the joint work of L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg, this fact has not been recognized. The Maori are placed in the second grade of Agriculturalists, i.e. the stage in which the products of the soil form the main source of subsistence, though hunting and fishing are not excluded. But, as will be clear from the facts adduced above, to a number of Maori tribes such a classification cannot rightly apply. Agriculture was either wholly absent from their economic life, or was only a minor activity. A knowledge of Best's work on the food products of the Tuhoe people (*T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 1902, etc.), for example, would have indicated the necessity for modifying this too comprehensive view of the Maori as being everywhere an agriculturalist.

clear that these occupations were not exclusively restricted on the lines indicated but were practised by other districts as subsidiary pursuits. Nearly every district had more than a single source of food supply, and in some, like Waikato, agriculture, fishing, and the forest were all relied upon to yield a quota.

This distribution of types of economy seems to be largely regulated by environmental factors of climate, locality, and natural resources.

In another field Mr. H. D. Skinner, in a useful paper,[1] has tentatively divided New Zealand into culture areas, basing his distinctions mainly on the differences in type of material objects—form of house, store-house, canoe prow, adze, kind of art, etc. It must be said that material culture alone is a rather inadequate basis for classification, since every such item is imbedded in a whole complex structure of beliefs and institutions. The comparison of isolated culture elements can never be used as an ultimate criterion of distinction. But one point of interest to our present inquiry has emerged out of Skinner's survey. The boundaries of the culture areas which he thus roughly defines correspond fairly closely to the botanical areas delimited by Dr. Cockayne in his ecological survey of New Zealand flora. Skinner remarks on this fact and points out that the significance of the connexion between the two types of classification is not apparent, but that perhaps a common climatic and geological factor is responsible.

From the point of view of environmental determinism of culture, it is interesting to consider this in the light of Dr. Clark Wissler's recent illuminating study of the relation of man to his environment among the native races of America.[2] Wissler concludes that the distribution of culture traits among the Indian suggests a certain correlation with the geographical environment. If this be the case then the possibility presents itself that the coincidence between the geographical ecology of plants and the culture areas in New Zealand may not be purely fortuitous. This view is supported by the fact of Skinner's criteria being mainly of the order of material culture, in which sphere one would naturally expect the closest conformity to the natural conditions. Thus the suggestion of

[1] *J.P.S.*, xxx, 1921, 71–9.
[2] Clark Wissler, *The Relation of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America*, 1926.

Dr. Buck that the contrasted modes of storing the *kumara* crops on the East Coast, the West Coast, and in the north may be due to climatic conditions and the varying nature of the soil, is probably the true explanation.[1] The absence of cultivated foods in Murihiku and the Chatham Islands, the growing of the *kumara* to a limited extent near Kaiapohia and the sheltered districts of Nelson and Marlborough, and the extensive agriculture practised by the northern tribes can be quite obviously correlated with environmental factors. It is possible then that in certain respects the culture distribution of the Maori does represent a human ecology.

The botanical analogy, however—and it is only an analogy—must not be pushed too far. The principle of environmental determinism is difficult to carry into the fields of social organization, or, above all, of art. Thus the principle of an ecological distribution of human society can hardly account for the art of the East Coast tribes being superior to that of the West Coast peoples, nor for its concentration in highest form around the Bay of Plenty - Poverty Bay district. Again, the predominance of curvilinear design in the north, as opposed to the more rectilinear motifs of the south is to be explained, not from environmental considerations of locality or natural surroundings, but more probably on Skinner's hypothesis of a different cultural influence. Furthermore, the occurrence of the type of carving apparently peculiar to the North Auckland or even Ngatiwhatua people—that of the anthropomorphic wooden chests for holding the bones of the dead, and the house slabs of allied workmanship, with the high domed forehead, three fangs in the mouth, recurved clawed thumb, and delicately traced scrolls—must be attributed to some distinctive cultural factor—by which I do not mean necessarily a different ethnic or cultural "wave". There is a case for a human ecology in New Zealand, implying a distribution of Maori culture on the basis of a broad environmental correlation. But it is clear that such a conception cannot be used to explain its full complexity, especially those aspects of it which are farthest removed from the material sphere.

[1] *The Coming of the Maori*, Cawthron Institute, 1925, 25.

The Calendar of Work

The culture-environment relation is seen in one of its most universal aspects in the seasonal regulation of activity. In all quarters of the globe the changeless march of the seasons imposes upon man a definite succession of tasks. Even in our most civilized communities the natural processes of germination, growth, maturity, and decay induce a corresponding series of regular economic activities in a large proportion of the inhabitants. It is easy to understand, then, how the Maori, much more directly dependent for life on the forest, sea food, and the cultivation of the soil, followed a closely determined sequence of operations in accordance with seasonal change and the movements of the animal and plant life around him.

The following calendar of work in reference to food pursuits, which I have drawn up by the collation of data scattered through Maori ethnographic literature, will enable the relations between economic activity and natural conditions to be studied in schematic form.[1]

Such an integration of fact is useful for presenting a co-ordinated view of economic activity over a long period. From this calendar one can readily see how each task had its place in a definite scheme of work; how the coming of each season, and indeed, of each month, brought forward its fresh meed of work to be done. It helps one to realize, too, the diversity of occupation pursued by the Maori of old in his economic life.

[1] It is impossible to print here the references which I have for each individual statement. The chief sources of information used are :—

Beattie, H.: "Nature Lore of the Southern Maori," *T.N.Z.I.*, lii, 1920.
Best, E.: "Food Products of Tuhoeland," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 1902.
—— "Maori Forest Lore," ibid., xl–xlii, 1907–9.
—— *Maori Agriculture* (D.M.B., No. 9), 1925.
Colenso, W.: "The Maori Races of New Zealand," *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 1868.
—— "Vegetable Food of the Ancient New Zealanders," ibid, xiii, 1880.
Downes, T. W.: "Notes on Eels and Eel Weirs," *T.N.Z.I.*, l, 1918.
Fletcher, H. J.: "Edible Fish, etc., of Taupo-nui-a-Tia," *T.N.Z.I.*, li, 1919.
Poata, Tamati: *The Maori as a Fisherman*, Opotiki, 1919 (a quaint and interesting pamphlet).
Te Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck): "Maori Food Supplies of Lake Rotorua," *T.N.Z.I.*, liii, 1921.
—— "The Maori Craft of Netting," ibid., lvi, 1926.
Walsh, Archdeacon: "On the Cultivation and Treatment of the Kumara," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 1902.
W. B.: *Where the White Man Treads*, 1905, 11–22.

This is all the more evident since the calendar is concerned with the occupations directed to the procuring of food alone. A large number of intermittent pursuits, such as canoe and house building, the repairing of tools, the making of cloaks and ornaments, do not enter into this category. In any case the irregularity of their performance would render it difficult to include them in such a calendar. But as a note for the field-worker, it may be here remarked that a most valuable ethnographic document would be a diary of native work from day to day, extending over a long period of time—say a complete year. This would provide most useful data in regard to the organization of activity and the seasonal distribution of occupations.

Seasonal Calendar of Work in Food Production.

Season.	Month.	Climate.	Mean Monthly Temp. in Shade.[1]	Mean Monthly Rainfall.[2]	Work of the Month.[3]
Winter (*Hotoke*)	June.	Cold.	Auck. 53° F. Dun. 44° F.	4·8 in. 3·1 in.	Pipiri: "All things of the earth are contracted owing to the cold, as also man." Bird-snaring and rat-trapping begin; game preserved. *Toitoi* fish, lamprey, and *kakahi* mussel taken inland, *warehou* and *moki* sea-fish. Certain fungi and orchids collected. Pleiades appear. New Year festival. Breaking up of new ground for crops (occasional).
	July.	Coldest month. Frosty, wet.	Auck. 52° F. Dun. 42° F.	5·0 in. 3·0 in.	Hongonui: "Man is now exceedingly cold, he kindles fires to warm himself." Taking and preserving of birds and rats. Fat *kaka* parrots caught by hand. *Tui* taken by hand at night. *Toitoi* fish, lamprey, and mussel taken inland; *warehou* and *moki* sea-fish. *Parengo* sea-weed collected. Cutting of trees and brushwood to make new cultivations.
	Aug.	Cold, rainy, frosty.	Auck. 52° F. Dun. 44° F.	4·2 in. 3·1 in.	Hereturi-koka: "The scorching effect of fire is seen on the knees of man." Taking and preserving of birds and rats. Burning off fern; turning over ground for crops. *Toitoi* fish inland; *Tarakihi*, *kehe*, and gurnard sea-fish.

Season.	Month.	Climate.	Mean Monthly Temp. in Shade.[1]	Mean Monthly Rainfall.[2]	Work of the Month.[3]
Spring (*Mahuru*)	Sept.	Growing milder, moist.	Auck. 54° F. Dun. 48° F.	3·6 in. 2·7 in.	MAHURU: "The earth has become warmed, as also plants and trees." Splitting and burning large logs on newly cleared ground. Digging and preparing ground for cultivation. Flax planting; *Cordyline* tops cut off. Crayfish (E. Coast). *Toitoi* fish, *inanga* (Taupo). *Tarakihi, kehe,* gurnard sea-fish. House of Learning closed (Takitumu tribes).
	Oct.	Mild, damp.	Auck. 57° F. Dun. 51° F.	3·6 in. 3·0 in.	WHIRINGA-NUKU: "The earth has now become quite warm." Planting of crops. *Cordyline* roots dug. Crayfish (E. Coast); *Inanga* (Taupo); *Paraki* and lamprey (Otago). *Tarakihi, kehe,* and gurnard sea-fish.
	Nov.	Warmer weather, fairly dry.	Auck. 60° F. Dun. 53° F.	3·3 in. 3·3 in.	WHIRINGA-RANGI: "Summer has arrived; the sun is strong." *Titi* petrel taken. Crayfish (E. Coast and Taupo); *Inanga* (Taupo), lamprey and *Paraki* (Otago). *Kahawai* fishing season begins (E. Coast).

Season.	Month.	Climate.	Mean Monthly Temp. in Shade.[1]	Mean Monthly Rainfall.[2]	Work of the Month.[3]
Summer (*Raumati*)	Dec.	Fairly hot, dry.	Auck. 64° F. Dun. 56° F.	2·9 in. 3·5 in.	HAKIHEA: "Birds have now settled on their nests." *Cordyline* dug; early forest fruits collected. Pigeon taken on *tawa* tree. Work in cultivation. Late planting. Fishing season on coast. Crayfish, *inanga* and *kokopu* taken (Rotorua).
	Jan.	Hot, dry.	Auck. 66° F. Dun. 58° F.	2·6 in. 3·4 in.	KOHI-TATEA: "Fruits have now set; man now partakes of the first fruits of the year." *Cordyline* dug; collection of forest foods; e.g. *tutu* berries, *raupo* pollen and roots, fungi, berries of trees. Firing of dry felled trees and scrub on new cultivation grounds. Fencing, weeding crops. Spearing *kaka* parrot and *tui* on *rata* tree, taking *tui* on fuschia tree. Crayfish, *inanga* and *kokopu* fish (Rotorua). *Maomao* sea-fish (E. Coast).
	Feb.	Hot, dry.	Auck. 67° F. Dun. 58° F.	3·0 in. 2·7 in.	HUI-TANGURU: "The foot of Ruhi now rests on the earth." Lifting of *tapu* from crops. Weeding; storehouses put in order. Eel-weirs constructed. Crayfish, *inanga*, *kokopu* fish inland; *maomao* sea-fish (E. Coast); *kahawai* fishing ends (E. Coast).

Season.	Month.	Climate.	Mean Monthly Temp. in Shade.[1]	Mean Monthly Rainfall.[2]	Work of the Month.[3]
Autumn (*Ngahuru*)	Mar.	Warm, dry.	Auck. 65° F. Dun. 55° F.	3·1 in. 3·0 in.	POUTU-TE-RANGI: "The crops are now dug up." Digging crops. Storing tubers. Harvest festival. *Cordyline* dug. *Titi* petrel taken (Otago). Crayfish, *inanga*, *kokopu* fish, *koaro* (Taupo) (inland). *Upokororo* fish (E. Coast). *Hapuku*, *kehe*, *maomao*, schnapper, other sea-fish; eels taken in rivers.
	April.	Mild, damp.	Auck. 61° F. Dun. 52° F.	3·3 in. 2·7 in.	PAENGA-WHAWHA: "The refuse of food plants is piled on the margins of the fields." Cropping tasks now finished; slack season for agricultural tribes. House of Learning opened (Takitumu). Eels taken passing to sea. *Upokororo* fish (E. Coast). *Karaka* berries gathered. *Tui* and *weka* taken (Southland). *Hapuku*, *warehou*, and schnapper sea-fish. *Maomao* season ends.
	May.	Cold, unsettled.	Auck. 57° F. Dun. 47° F.	4·4 in. 3·2 in.	HARATUA: "Crops are now stored in the pits; the labours of man are over." Stray *kumara* gleaned from field. *Tui* taken (Otago). *Toitoi* fish inland. Eels and lamprey taken. *Warehou* and schnapper sea-fish.
	June.	Cold, wet.	Auck. 53° F. Dun. 44° F.	4·8 in. 3·1 in.	Maori New Year begins again.

[1] The temperatures given are those of Auckland and Dunedin—the mean monthly temperature in the shade for the past fifty-nine years. These two situations are chosen to indicate the approximate difference in temperature between the north and the south of New Zealand.

[2] The average monthly rainfall for Auckland and Dunedin for the past seventy and sixty-seven years respectively is given. The data for temperature and rainfall may thus be correlated. They have been obtained from the *New Zealand Official Year Book*, 1925, pp. 27 and 33.

[3] The Maori month names are those of the Tuhoe tribe, given with comments thereto by Tutakangahau (from Best, *Maori Agriculture*, 113). It must be borne in mind that the months of the Maori year do not correspond exactly with ours; they were lunar months. They should be understood as corresponding to June–July, July–August, etc., as indicated in the schematic table. The beginning of the New Year varied, being sometimes in May, sometimes in June.

The Table which I have drawn up brings the distribution of work into relation with the measurement of time. This point will be pursued a step further, in order to show that the Maori calendar exercised its most important functions as a regulator of economic activity, and was influenced by this fact.

The year was divided by the Maori into twelve lunar months, each of which had its name, which varied among different tribes. Several lists of these month names are given by Best, in conjunction with much other valuable matter, in his monograph on *The Maori Division of Time*.[1] Occasionally one finds mention of a thirteenth month in the native calendar. The normal year of twelve lunar months each comprising thirty days—or nights, according to the Maori—would lead to a slight error, a deficiency which seems to have been remedied by some system of intercalation, imperfectly understood by us. It is possible that the thirteenth month sometimes recorded was inserted at intervals to this end.

Some lists of months given by natives contain only ten names, and inquiry reveals that it is the last two month-names of the year which have been omitted. It must not be concluded from this, however, that the Maori of these districts did not recognize the existence of the final two months. Even though the specific name for neither of them was in use, they were not dropped completely out of reckoning, but were alluded to jointly by a vague and general term. It seems probable that the absence of precise names in this respect can be correlated with the character of the economic pursuits of certain of the Maori tribes.

Agriculture played a great part in the economy of many tribes, especially of the North and of the East Coast. The tenth month was the month of harvest, when the crops were dug and stored, which really ended for these people the labours of the year. This can be seen from the study of the calendar of work. The eleventh and twelfth months brought no tasks of great importance. They were utilized for casual pursuits, visiting and social intercourse; the compelling drive to work was removed for a season. It seems clear that it was to the comparative unimportance of this period in the working life of the native that we can attribute the absence of specific names for these last two months of the year. This is pointed

[1] *Dominion Museum Monograph*, No. 4, 1922.

out fairly clearly by Best and is indicated also by a list given by him containing only ten month-names. Of the last, Poutu-te-rangi, it is said, "*Ka hauhake te kai i konei : ka ruhi te tipu o nga mea katoa*, Crops are now lifted ; all growth becomes flaccid," a supplementary note in the MS. explaining the omission of the following two months from the list by stating that they are negligible (op. cit. 18).

An explanation of a custom which is given by the native himself cannot be taken at its mere face value ; it is usually a rationalization which may or may not point to the real underlying factors at work. Nevertheless it should always be taken into account and it is interesting to note that the Maori has apparently been able to formulate an answer to our query in very much the same terms as given above. Rev. W. Yate, writing in 1835, describes the Maori year as consisting of ten months, but explains that the natives reckon three months for one at the end of the autumn season. "The reason they give for this is, that during two months between autumn and winter, they have nothing to do in the way of cultivation ; their time, consequently, is then occupied in comparative idleness." "It is a time," the natives say, "not worthy to be reckoned, as it is only spent in visiting, feasting, talking, playing, and sleeping." [1] As Best points out, however, Yate is probably incorrect in assuming that the Maori had no names whatsoever for the concluding months. They were recognized though not deemed important.

With certain tribes, then, the tendency to honour only ten months of the year with specific names and to drop the two others from account, or rather, to refer to them only by a loose general term, seems to be definitely correlated with that great centre of interest in their life, the change and cessation of the economic pursuits incident to the practice of agriculture. It is possible that if a more exact regional survey of Maori institutions could be undertaken, the calendar of the ten month-names might be found to be confined to the agricultural tribes, while those people who gained their living mainly from fishing or other pursuits which do not leave a free period in the autumn might retain the twelve month-names in their calendar. From absence of data this problem cannot be adequately studied ; it suggests, however, a line of investigation

[1] *An Account of New Zealand*, 2nd ed., 1835, 107.

which might be profitably pursued in other culture areas. The close association between the measurement of time and the regulation of economic activity could thus be more exactly determined.

The Maori lunar month usually had thirty days—or rather nights—each of which bore its own name, which was apt to vary among different tribes. The following is a list, hitherto unpublished, of such names apparently from the Waikato district.[1]

Nights of the Moon

1. Atarau, also Pewa.
2. Ahoroa, also Tirea.
3. Aurei.
4. Oue, also Ue.
5. Akoro, also Okoro.
6. Ananga, also Tamatea-tutahi.
7. Ahotu, also Tamatea-turua.
8. Aio, also Tamatea-to-toru.
9. Kai-ariki, also Tamatea-tuwha.
10. Hune, also Ngahuru.
11. Ari.
12. Maure.
13. Mawharu.
14. Ohua.
15. Atua-mate-o-hotu.
16. Oturu.
17. Rakaunui (full moon).
18. Rakau-matohi.
19. Takirau.
20. Oike.
21. Korekore.
22. Korekore-ngana.
23. Korekore-piri.
24. Tangaroa-mua.
25. Tangaroa-roto.
26. Kiokio.
27. Otane.
28. Orongo-nui.
29. Mauri.
30. Omutu-mutu whenua.

[1] This was sent me by my esteemed friend, Mr. W. Baucke, of Otorohanga, who after many years of intimate association with the Maori is well versed in the native tongue and possessed of much knowledge of native customs.

This list corresponds in the main with others already published, but includes several new names, as Atarau, Ahoroa, and Aurei for the first three nights.

The chief interest that attaches to these nights of the moon to the native mind, was their bearing on economic pursuits. Some of them were deemed unlucky for planting, fishing, etc., while others were productive of success. Hence agricultural and fishing operations were regulated on this basis. Best gives a number of lists of nights of the moon from different sources with remarks on the lucky and unlucky times.[1] The Orongonui night—or corresponding day—was a favourable one for *kumara* planting and those of Tangaroa for fishing; the Korekore days, however, seem to have been so named because neither on sea nor land were food products to be obtained. The correlation of time measurement with economic activity is an interesting phenomenon in native culture.

The Economic Cycle

To review now some of the more salient facts embodied in the calendar of work. The Maori year, as Best has told us, began in June, with the first new moon after the heliacal rising of the Pleiades, on the East Coast, or of Rigel in the far North, the extreme South, and in the Chatham Islands. The former gave the signal for the taking and preserving of game among the forest tribes. Not all the tasks entered under each month were performed by the same people. This can be understood from the reference already made to the different modes of life of various tribes. The main sequence of operations in each type of work may be briefly indicated, commencing with the winning of forest foods.

The main seasons for bird-snaring and rat-trapping began in June and continued throughout the winter, till almost the middle of September. Then of various kinds of birds, each had its own specific season, according to its fatness and tameness or the nature of its food. Thus the *titi* petrel was taken in the inland ranges in November, in January the *kaka* parrot was speared while attracted by the blossoms of the *rata* tree, and the *tui* was taken there and also on the fuchsia. Parakeets were snared in the autumn, and pigeons began to be taken late

[1] Best, *The Maori Division of Time*, 23–32; cf. also Te Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck), *T.N.Z.I.*, liii, 435.

in the same season, while young parrots were taken by hand from the nest when fat, and the feathers began to grow on their wings. Besides the general snaring and spearing of pigeon, parrot, etc., in winter, the *tui* (parson-bird) was taken by hand on frosty nights, when numbed with cold, and the flightless *kiwi* was hunted with dogs. Thus the fowler's life imposed upon him a fairly regular sequence of tasks in the taking of birds. Summer was also the time for the collection of the forest plant-foods.

The major economic activities fitted into one another fairly well. Thus when the taking and preserving of birds in the winter was finished, it was time to begin preparations for planting the crops. The sequence of agricultural operations covered the greater part of the year. The ground was broken up in late autumn, before the rains clogged the soil, then lay fallow while fishing or game-preserving were attended to, and was then dug over at the beginning of the spring. This latter was a most important season to the Maori. As one of its names shows—*Te Koanga*, the digging—it was a time specially connected with agriculture. And according to Maori legend it was Mahuru, the personified form of the spring, who sent the cuckoo to call man to the work of tilling the ground for crops, with its cry of *Koia ! Koia ! Koia !* (Dig ! Dig ! Dig !) [1] The star Poutu-te-rangi and certain flowering shrubs also were the signs (*tohu*) to prepare for planting. This usually took place about October, but might begin earlier, or be prolonged even till the middle of December, according to locality and weather. Afterwards when the shoots appeared above the ground, came the work of weeding the plantation, and, in exposed places, of erecting breakwinds of brushwood to shelter the growing plants. The period between planting and harvest was also the favourite fighting season. As the tubers approached maturity the natives drew upon them for food, and in later times trouble was taken to safeguard them from pillaging rats, who desired to do likewise. In February, or thereabouts, came the ceremonial lifting of the *tapu* from the crop, and in March the work of getting ready the storehouses to contain the harvest. Soon after this began the digging of the crops, the sign being given by the first appearance of Whanui (Vega) above the eastern horizon. This was followed by the

[1] Best, *Maori Agriculture*, 75.

storing of the tubers. All this occurred in early autumn, a season again connected closely in the Maori mind with agriculture, as witness the name *Te Ngahuru*, the harvest time. Hence this term also became a synonym for the tenth month. At the conclusion of the work came the harvest festival, a ritual feast, but also a social event, with games and rejoicing. To the agricultural tribes the next two months represented rather a slack season. It was in April that the *whare wananga*, the House of Learning, an interesting institution to be described later, was opened among the Takitimu tribes, and continued throughout the winter, till September. In the twelfth month stray *kumara* were gleaned from the fields.

With the tribes to whom fish was one of the staple foods a different distribution of working time was in vogue. Autumn, for instance, was the great migration time for certain species of eel, which then travel down to the sea. As Downes points out, the people of the Upper Whanganui lived for months with eels as practically their sole food. Consequently in February, tribes such as Whanganui and Waikato put their eel-weirs, traps, and baskets in order, or constructed new ones, while the waters in the stream were low. Then when the fish came all were busy in taking and preserving them, a state of activity which lasted for some weeks, since different kinds of eels came down in successive migrations. March, April, and May were the principal months for eels, though they were caught by different methods at other times of the year. Then in May, June, and July the lamprey were taken as they moved up the river.

Sea-fishing also had its succession of tasks. The coastal tribes around the East Cape district, for instance, were occupied in March, April, and May with the catching of *hapuku* (groper) and schnapper ; in June and July they fished for *warehou* and the prized *moki*, and collected the edible *parengo* seaweed, while in August, September, and October came the season for *tarakihi*, *kehe*, *ngature*, *porae*, *rawaru*, and *kumukumu* (gurnard). The *kehe*, however, could be taken almost all the year round, as also the crayfish. The summer, owing to the calm sea, was a favourite fishing time, and Captain Mair mentions the great haul made by the net of Te Pokiha as being made on New Year's Day (i.e. January 1st).[1]

[1] v. Ch. VI.

With the people of the Rotorua lakes May saw the beginning of fishing for *toitoi*, which lasted till September. In November began the taking of crayfish, to which was added that of *inanga* (whitebait) and *kokopu* in December. The catching of these lasted till the end of the summer. In Taupo, the *inanga* season appears to be from September to January by trapping them in pots, and from September to March by netting. Many other local differences which exist in the taking of birds and fish cannot be entered into here.[1]

From this survey of the activities of different tribes several points of interest emerge. In the first place the Maori had a seasonal organization of labour, a regular cycle of economic activities in which each occupation had its well-defined period. This was determined by climatic changes and the character of the plant life, or the habits of the animal species dealt with. A very detailed knowledge of such natural processes as well as of the concomitant signs by which ripening or maturity could be gauged was known to the expert in each branch of work. Every activity had its rightful place in a whole scheme of economic operations, a point which is of considerable interest in relation to the organization of native work (to be considered in Chapter VI).

In the second place it is clear that the great variation in the food resources of different tribes imposed upon them a quite different distribution of working time. Agriculture gave one calendar of work to the Northern tribes, sea fishing another to the people of the coast, reliance on birds, rats, and forest food a third to the dwellers of the bush-clad ranges of the Urewera, eels and freshwater fish yet another in each case to the tribes of the Whanganui and the Rotorua lakes. To a certain extent the regulation of work of the various tribes coincided, as most of them possessed subsidiary food resources. But the differences were marked.

A third point relates to the different seasons for taking the same type of food observed among different tribes. Thus Fletcher notes that at Taupo the *inanga* fishing begins in September, whereas Buck gives the season at Rotorua as from December onwards—and both are reliable authorities. In

[1] The same name may be applied in various districts to different species of fish. Thus as Buck notes (*T.N.Z.I.*, lvi, 640), on the East Coast the *kokopu* is *Electris gobioides*, on the West Coast the name is applied to *Galaxias fasciatus*, while at Taupo the *kokopu* is *Galaxias brevipinnis*. It is somewhat difficult then to equate the data given as to a fish of this name.

sea-fishing also there was much variation in the season for taking the same species on the different grounds. This explains the apparent discrepancy in the accounts of various observers. The differences in time between the same type of activity among Northern and Southern tribes are still more pronounced. Thus whereas lamprey were caught in the Whanganui from May till July, in Southland, according to H. Beattie, they were taken in October and November. Again, trees on the berries of which the birds used to feed bore fruit about six weeks later there than in the North. This would give an equivalent time-lag in snaring operations. Such climatic variations and local differences combined to cause further variation of the calendar of working time when compared among the different tribes.

The cardinal facts, however, which are closely brought out in spite of local differences, are the existence of a definite cycle of activities, each with its proper season, and the pursuance of a fairly steady and consistent routine of labour. Both these points will need to be recalled in the later pages. They show that Maori work did not consist in a vague unorganized quest for food, nor was it characterized by sporadic labour broken by long seasons of idleness. (See Chapters V and VI.)

I have now traced out some of the most general features of the economic adjustment of the Maori to his natural surroundings—his knowledge of them and the degree of practical, æsthetic, and esoteric interest involved, his utilization of material resources and the limitations they imposed upon his activity, his occupational cycle and the calendar of work with its local variations in conformity to differences in climate, flora, and fauna. Attention may now be turned to a more specific problem involving greater detailed study. The object here is to ascertain how the adjustment works itself out in an individual instance, for, granted that the natural surroundings of the Maori impose general limitations upon his economic activity, it still remains to be shown what is the precise nature of the limits in each separate case. Naturally, the extent to which cultural factors operate within the environmental boundary must vary from one pursuit to another. It is not feasible to follow out every case of adjustment in detail ; it will be sufficient for our purpose to select a representative occupation—the production of native clothing—for analysis. This instance has the greater value since it will supplement the account of food pursuits already given.

The Economic Adjustment in the Case of Maori Clothing

The Maori forms an especially interesting example of environmental adjustment, since, if his traditions are to be believed—and in the main theme of the migration of the fleet they seem to be substantially correct—he is a relatively recent arrival on New Zealand shores. It is only about six hundred years since the most important cultural wave of migrants entered the land, coming from Tahiti, with Raratonga as their port of call. Now the natural surroundings of these Polynesian isles, their last Hawaiki, were quite unlike those of New Zealand. Climatic conditions were less rigorous, a different flora and fauna obtained. It is evident, then, that some environmental adjustment had to be made if the Maori were to survive in his new home. We have confined our survey to the specific case of clothing.[1]

The climate of New Zealand, though temperate, is distinctly colder and wetter than that of the Polynesian islands, necessitating better protection from the elements. In his former home the Maori had worn the *tapa*, the cloth manufactured from the inner bark of the *aute*, the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), by beating with wooden mallets. It was usually worn by men as a *maro*, in a long strip passing between the legs and round the loins, and by women in the form of a kilt. But now the Maori was confronted by a difficult situation, for the *aute* was lacking in New Zealand. This quandary had been to some extent foreseen, and an attempt was made to perpetuate the same type of clothing by bringing *aute* plants with the voyagers in their canoes. Evidence is available that the Maori first of all tried to acclimatize the shrub in his new home.[2] But weather conditions were too rigorous, and proved unsuitable both for the wide propagation of the *aute* and the use of *tapa* as garments. In the search for a substitute there is reason to believe that the inner bark of the *whauwhi* (*Hoheria populnea*) or lace-bark, prepared by similar technique, was tried but finally rejected.

[1] The technological material here given is drawn mainly from the excellent series of papers by Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. Buck) on "The Evolution of Maori Clothing", *J.P.S.*, xxxiii–xxxv, 1924–6, since published separately as Memoir 7 of the Polynesian Society.

[2] Banks, Parkinson, and Colenso all mention having seen plants of *aute* growing, and from the two former it is learned that small rolls of bark cloth were worn in the ears in former times. A full discussion of this subject is given by Te Rangi Hiroa (op. cit., 30–40), who also figures two undoubted Maori *tapa* beaters. Kites were sometimes made of this material, and were then termed *manu aute*.

So the Maori had to cast about for some new material which would serve to protect him more adequately from the elements. This he found in the *harakeke* (*Phormium tenax*), misnamed the New Zealand flax, with its six-foot sword-like blades and strong longitudinal fibres. This plant possessed the added advantage of being abundant in nearly all except the most hilly districts. The native discovered also the *toi* (*Cordyline indivisa*) and the *kiekie* (*Freycinetia banksii*), which, however, though very useful for rain cloaks and rough garments, never assumed the importance of the *harakeke*—save to the mountaineers of Tuhoe. Of the actual steps by which the use of the *Phormium* was discovered no trace remains, and speculation is superfluous.

But the conversion of the *harakeke* and allied leaves into garments necessitated quite a different technique from that employed in the beating of *tapa*. In these leaf-blades the fibres were long and parallel, whereas the fibres of *aute* and kindred barks were inextricably interlaced. In the latter case it was sufficient to weld strips together by beating; in the former a new technique had to be worked out. This was managed, both for the preparation of fibre from the leaves, and in combining the fibrous elements together to make a fabric. Garments of many kinds were constructed, and as the valuable researches of Te Rangi Hiroa have shown, the Maori art of twined work was in essentials a development in response to the new conditions of climate and raw material encountered after leaving Polynesia.[1] The evidence seems fairly clear that the Maori brought with him and adapted to the local material the knowledge of the spaced single-pair twine weft, a form of technique based on the single-pair twine of basket-making. In this the two elements which compose the weft are twisted in half-turns over each other to make a two-strand twine, each half-turn enclosing a warp. With this technique as foundation a whole series of garments came into use.

These garments are of four main classes: aprons, kilts, capes, and cloaks. The apron and the kilt served primarily to comply with the canons of modesty, and were much in favour

[1] This twined work is usually, though perhaps incorrectly, called "weaving". No loom of any kind is employed, but a downward finger-working process is used. In the following pages the term "weaving" has been retained in one aspect, as a designation for the general art of the making of garments. This is both convenient and in accordance with customary usage. If understood as referring simply to the art, and not to the technique, no confusion is caused.

for ordinary wear. To afford protection against inclement weather the rain-cape and rain-cloak were made, garments in which the free ends of short tags overlapped one another in rows like a thatch, and effectively turned the water. The longer garments, being thick, were very serviceable for outdoor wear and gave great warmth, while if of good workmanship, they were also used as dress cloaks. For everyday use about the village a garment which gave more covering to the wearer than apron or kilt was also in vogue, such as the *parakiri* of the Whanganui tribes, which the women wore as they went about their household duties. This garment bore no tags or ornamentation of any sort. For rough wear an old cloak would be tied around the waist.[1]

Here we have the response of the Maori to his physical needs : the selection of the most suitable material from his environment, and the development of a technique to deal with it. The manufacture of garments such as rain-capes, for instance, necessitated the suspension of the garment between a pair of weaving sticks, while the mode of attachment of the tags was facilitated by beginning to make the garment at what was to be the bottom, working downwards, and then, when finished, reversing it for wear.

But much more than purely environmental conditions or the guidance of initial technique were responsible for the Maori art of weaving. Garments to serve as guardians of modesty, protection against wet and cold or damage to the skin by no means exhausted the tale of Maori clothing. A thick cloak, woven with a close two-strand weft and giving a strong canvas-like fabric, well-nigh impenetrable to blow of *hani* or thrust of spear, were used in war. Then there were the dress cloaks, worn at social gatherings to improve the personal appearance. These were of many kinds. The *kahu kuri*, a cloak to which long narrow strips of dogskin were attached, was a highly valued garment worn as a mantle only by persons of chiefly rank. Cloaks of the *korowai* class were ornamented by tags or thrums of black or undyed cords, dotted, as it were, over the surface of the garment. These were often finely made, and had a narrow strip of ornamentation down the sides. Somewhat similar cloaks

[1] Such was termed *rapaki*, a generic term for kilt. For uses of this word, v. Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxi, 642, 645 ; Te Rangi Hiroa, *J.P.S.*, xxxiii, 294 ; *T.N.Z.I.*, lv, 346 ; Williams, *Dictionary*.

were ornamented with pompoms, instead of thrums. In both of these types different artistic effects were obtained by a fringe at the neck, and by varying the spacing and grouping of the thrums or pompoms and the composition and colouring of the border. Garments of somewhat similar type, though of different ornamentation, were the *kahu huruhuru*, or feather cloaks, worn largely by women of rank. In these feathers were attached to the cloak, and were arranged in tufts, in squares, or so as to cover the entire surface. Many different species of birds contributed their plumage for this artistic end, the chief being the *kaka* parrot (*Nestor meridionalis*), *kiwi* (*Apteryx*, of several species), *kukupa*, pigeon (*Hemiphaga novæ-zealandiæ*), and *tui* (*Prosthemadera novæ-zealandiæ*). Sometimes the garment was ornamented in one colour only, as was usual with *kahu kiwi*, but often squares, vertical strips or lozenges of red-brown, blue-black, green or white, tastefully arranged, gave an effective contrast.

The most highly valued of all were the cloaks without either tag or feather ornamentation, presenting merely the plain surface of the woven fabric, with a coloured border at bottom and edge. There were the *kaitaka* or *parawai* cloaks. They were esteemed for the silky texture of their warp fibre, which was specially selected, and was not washed and beaten to the same extent as with the other cloaks, and above all for the beauty of the *taniko* designs of their borders, worked in an intricate pattern of triangles, chevrons, and lozenges, in red-brown, yellow, black, and the flaxen white of the undyed fibre. For the body of the best dress cloaks, except those ornamented with dogskin, a more complex technique, the two-pair interlocking weft was used, while the *taniko* was made with a wrapped twine stitch. Both of these are regarded by Te Rangi Hiroa as having been evolved in New Zealand. Altogether the wealth of ornament and care of workmanship lavished on the dress cloaks of the Maori is truly impressive.

A careful study of the motives which enter into the making of these garments would give results of a definite socio-economic interest. The facts which are particularly germane to this chapter may be reviewed here. Apart from the environmental adjustment made in response to climatic conditions and to local materials, in the development of a special type of garment made with a complex technique to cope with them, there are other factors which enter into the manufacture of native clothing. Certain

A. A MAORI MAN

He is clad in a rain cloak and holds a *mere rakau*, a short wooden weapon.

B. A MAORI GIRL

[*face p.* 72

of them served to meet not the stress of environmental forces, but various social needs. Such were the war-cloaks which gave protection in fighting, and the dress cloaks, worn to enhance the beauty of the wearer on public occasions.

Then, weaving was a skilled craft, and as such commanded the respect of the people. An expert weaver had a recognized social standing, so that it was the desire of every craftswoman worthy of the name to attain a reputation for neat, clever, and artistic work. Such an incentive, the hope of winning name and fame, was a very real factor in promoting the careful execution of the task and the elaboration of technique and pattern. The frank opinions expressed by other experts and even by the people at large were also instrumental in promoting good work.[1] The expenditure of much time in preparation of the fibre, in even spacing of the wefts, and in neat finishing of borders was due to the desire for social approval of the finished garment.

Again, the development of an elaborate system of ornamentation indicates a desire to satisfy the sense of æsthetic appreciation on the part of the weaver. In the best rain-cloaks, the primary purpose of which was utilitarian, yellow tags were sometimes introduced among the black to improve the appearance. And of rain capes Te Rangi Hiroa remarks: "There are, however, in this technique two varieties of cape in which a useful thatch is abandoned for the sake of ornamentation."[2] The artistic sense of the weaver, as expressed in the ornamentation of garments, was largely governed by the dictum of tradition and public opinion. Thus the proper ornamentation for the borders of feather cloaks was held to be the short loop, and the zigzag motif, as used with tag cloaks. The coloured border of the *taniko* type was looked on as incorrect for these, though in modern times it has come into vogue.[3]

The æsthetic standards of ornament and the reputation to be gained by a skilled weaver are both bound up with the economic traditions of the craft. When an economic activity is of importance to the community, it tends to create for itself a social setting—of traditional rules, magical beliefs and observances, and mythological tales—which emphasizes its importance.[4] In weaving, this economic tradition was strong. A body of technical regulations, largely formulated from experience, dictated how each

[1] v. Best, "The Art of the Whare Pora," *T.N.Z.I*, xxxi, 637–8, for a number of disparaging terms used to refer to poor weaving.

[2] Loc. cit., xxxiv, 225. [3] Te Rangi Hiroa, loc. cit., xxxiii, 305.

[4] For myths of weaving see Best, op. cit., 634–5.

operation should be done, and the rules of *tapu* enjoined a number of ceremonial acts. The function of the latter in giving confidence to the weaver and ensuring concentration on the work has already been discussed by the present writer.[1] The mythology of weaving gave authority to and guaranteed the antecedents of the craft. The technical rules handed down the knowledge of it, and ensured its retention and correct transmission by prohibiting undue departure from traditional usage. On the preservation of the technical tradition of any craft depends its survival.

To sum up the foregoing argument : we set out to consider a specific case of economic adjustment, that is, in what respects Maori clothing might be regarded as an attempt at conforming to environmental conditions. From this brief survey several points became clear. On the one side the garments of the native, changing in character and technique after his arrival in New Zealand, were plainly an adaptation to his new situation. An attempt was made to meet the rigours of the altered climate, and the plant world was searched for the most suitable material. The adoption of this new type of fibre necessitated radical changes in technique, and from this developed a complex set of manufacturing processes. Garment and technique can thus be correlated with environmental conditions. This is the point which is most frequently stressed by writers on the Maori. But being little concerned with the theoretical issues of the problem, they have hardly made explicit enough the other factors involved. For the characteristics of the environmental situation are insufficient to explain the variety of Maori garments, their use in war and on public occasions, and the diversity of ornamentation lavished upon them. Social factors must be looked to for an explanation. They are to be found in the desire for æsthetic expression along the lines laid down by public feeling and recognized standards ; in the psychology of craftsmanship, and in the tendency for a body of economic tradition, in the magical as well as in the technical sphere, to encrust the execution of the art. Culture steps in to keep pace with environment as a co-determinant of the economic process. In short, physical environment presents the limiting condition to economic activity, but there is no rigid environmental mould into which fluid economic effort is poured, and allowed to set firm.

[1] " Some Features of Primitive Industry," *Economic Journal* (*Econ. Hist.* No. 1), January, 1926, 18–19.

Chapter III

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Ko te tumu herenga waka.
The stump to which the canoe is tied.
(Proverbial expression for the relation of a chief to his tribe.)

The problem before us in this chapter is one of defining inter-relations—to try and discover how the economic institutions and systems of co-operation fit into the whole social structure of the Maori community. This is by no means an easy task, for even setting aside the difficulties inherent in the study of so complex a subject as social relations, the fact remains that in the Maori field the principles of both social and economic organization have in no way received the attention which their fundamental importance has deserved. Arts and crafts, religion, magic, traditional history, and language have all had their enthusiastic scholars ; hardly a student but has felt himself compelled to dabble in Maori origins, and to hark back to India, Indonesia, America or Assam, to Babylonia, Egypt or Ur of the Chaldees for fair-seeming comparisons which will help to explain to us the Maori. But the actual social organization, especially in the economic sphere, has lain neglected. Of the roll of field workers, apart from Colenso, Shortland, and John White, who were content with brief skeletal descriptions, Mr Elsdon Best is the only writer who has given any real attention to the elucidation of problems of this nature, and to him we owe much valuable material. But even he has confined his attention largely to tracing out the operation of the kinship principle in social grouping, succession, and inheritance. The form of economic grouping, social functions of relatives, individual relations within the community, and kindred topics have been rather left on one side. This general lack of interest in social organization on the part of field workers explains why in the following pages absence of data on several important points has prevented a more detailed analysis. But the posing of the problems as they arise will at least indicate lines along which future inquiry may be profitably pursued—should this be still possible. In social and economic organization,

above all, it is the lack of an adequate theoretical approach which prevents the observer from seeing the essentials of the structure through the confusing mass of detail by which he is confronted. It is in this presentation of the newer sociological point of view, in the indication of a novel field of research, that this study of Maori economics will perhaps be of some value. The most convenient method of approach here is first to analyse the general structure of Maori society—the basis of social organization, the types of grouping, the nature of institutions, and the various bonds which hold people together in the normal affairs of life—and then to consider their economic bearing.

The Maori Village (*Kainga*)

One of the fundamental bases on which any society is organized is that of *locality*, since certain spatial relations are inherent in the very nature of every group, whether settled or migratory. And the great importance of association in a common locality is that it represents not merely a physical fact, but also leads to the formation of a whole body of psychological bonds, due to the common interests of the members and their contact in everyday life. Among the Maori the local group, patent to the eye of every observer, is the village.

The natives of former time lived in village communities, the nature and size of which were largely determined by the physiographic features of the particular district which they happened to occupy. In the rugged gorges of the Urewera mountains, with a food supply drawn from the forest, the population was naturally scanty and the villages were fairly small and scattered. But on the fertile hills of the Tamaki isthmus, where climate and soil allowed of extensive cultivations and the sea was near, the population was great and the villages correspondingly large. The presence of a score or more deserted hill-slopes, each extensively terraced for village sites, within a radius of a few miles, bears witness to the thousands of people who formerly dwelt on this stretch of land. Their disappearance at an early date in the history of the European occupation, however, renders it impossible to give even an approximate estimate of their numbers.

In olden days, when war and its alarms were of frequent occurrence, many villages were in fortified positions, or were constructed on spots which admitted of easy defence. A hill-top,

A. A MODERN NATIVE VILLAGE

Ohaua-te-rangi on the Whakatane River. In the distance rises Te Tapa, a hill on which the bones of dead ancestors are hidden. Such a spot is referred to as a *toma*.

B. THE PEOPLE OF THE HAMLET

Ngati-Rongo *hapu* of Ohaua-te-rangi in front of "Te poho-o-Potiki", their meeting house.

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a rocky headland, a bend in a river, the edge of a steep cliff, a spur joined by a narrow saddle to the main range—all were typical sites for a village. When the natural position was lacking, or needed reinforcement, huge earthworks in the form of ditches, ramparts, scarps, or terraces were constructed, and topped with palisades.[1] These are important from the economic point of view, as the labour of construction was immense. Such a defended position was termed a *pa*, while an unprotected village—the only type now inhabited—was called *kainga*. The latter were common in former times, too, but the people who occupied one generally contrived to have a *pa* near at hand, to which they could flee in time of danger. For the purposes of our present inquiry the external defences are of less importance than the internal structure of the settlement. In this both *pa* and *kainga* exhibited the same essential features, although the fortifications of the former were of necessity so laid out as to conform to the exigencies of the site, and no consistent shape of settlement was in vogue. In regard to social life and institutions, apart from war, one may speak equally well of either.

The village was composed of a number of rectangular dwelling-huts, about 10 by 12 feet in ground plan, some larger, some smaller, built either of poles and thatch, or if of better workmanship, in the *wharepuni* style, with worked timbers, an excavated floor, and earth heaped up around the sides. This, together with a lining of reeds or tree-fern stems, ensured great warmth within the dwelling, though the small door and window did not admit of much ventilation.[2] Besides the ordinary

[1] The earliest description of these is given by J. Cook, *Account of a Voyage round the World* (Hawkesworth II), 1773, 328, 340–4. For plans and other detail of Maori forts, see E. Best, *The Pa Maori* (D.M.B., No. 6) ; *The Maori*, ii, 304–52 ; W. H. Skinner, " The Ancient Fortified Pa," *J.P.S.*, xx, 71–7 ; Raymond Firth, " The Korekore Pa," *J.P.S.*, xxxiv, 1–18 ; ibid., " Maori Hill Forts," *Antiquity*, i, 1927. *Note.*—Mahler (*Internat. Archiv. f. Ethnogr.*, xi, Supplement, 1898) considers that the need for protection was the determining factor as regards the position of a settlement in Oceania, and goes on to say, " So deutlich wie in Neuseeland zeigt sich nirgends der Einfluss des Schutzbedurfnis auf die Lage der Siedelungen " (33). But undoubtedly he under-estimates the influence of a plentiful food supply in determining the choice of a village site. Such was often the motive with the Maori in selecting his place of settlement. He solved the problem of defence *versus* food resources by also having a fortified position near at hand to which he could resort in time of need. Cf. also Crozet, *Nouveau Voyage à la mer du sud*, 1783, ed. L'Abbé Rochon, 55–6.

[2] On the Chatham Islands the sleeping houses were small, and, according to Engst, had no window. All was made airtight with flax and grass. When the door was closed, one heard neither rain nor wind, nor the tossing of the sea. " Wer ein gutes Gewissen hat, der schläft da so ruhig wie in einem Grabe " (Bruno Weiss, *Mehr als Fünfzig Jahre auf Chatham Island*, 1901, 28–9) ; cf. also Raymond Firth, " Wharepuni," *Man*, March, 1926.

dwelling-huts there were in every well-appointed village one or more houses of superior style, large, roomy, and carefully built, ornamented by artistic reed-work and much wood-carving. The purpose and social value of such buildings will be described later.

The food of the village was kept some in underground pits, as for root-crops, some on elevated stages, some in storehouses perched on posts to keep off damp and thieving rats. In the latter type, which were not used for ordinary crops, tools, cordage, and other gear might also be kept. In one village entered by Crozet in the north there were three buildings on the central space between the two rows of houses, the one nearest to the gateway being the storehouse for tools and spare weapons, the next the store for food—*kumara*, dried shell-fish, fern-root—and calabashes of water, while the third was the place of storage for nets, fishing gear, cordage, and paddles. At the end of the village were open stagings on which provisions were dried.[1] The cooking sheds were flimsy structures, very open and sometimes having walls of stacked firewood. In fine weather the ovens were usually prepared out of doors. At Waitahanui *pa*, however, in the quarters of Te Heuheu there was a row of cooking houses 40 feet long by 15 feet broad, with walls 10 feet high, which were constructed of enormous wooden slabs well fitted together.[2] This seems to have been an uncommon usage.

In temporary camps the huts were more slightly built, of poles and thatch, or even of boughs. In 1923, the writer noticed one of sapling framework and *raupo* walls standing in the bush near the beach of Tutukaka harbour. Sheds of flimsy construction, too, were built as shelters by travellers.

The disposition of houses in a village did not follow any fixed plan. They were all ranged more or less round the central place, the *marae* or village square, while the chief's dwelling and superior houses often occupied the upper end, that is, the one farthest from the entrance gateway. Apart from this the huts were placed fairly indiscriminately, with communication ways between them. In large villages, fences divided the dwellings into groups, as remarked upon by Cook,[3] each occupied by a different section of the inhabitants—usually by a body of kinsmen.

[1] Crozet, op. cit., 57–62.
[2] E. J. Wakefield, *Adventures in New Zealand*, ii, 107.
[3] J. Cook, ibid., 122, and also Wakefield, ii, 107.

A. A *Whare-puni* at Te Whaiti.

B. A *Whare-puni* at Ohaua-te-rangi. In front are Te Kotahi tanga, his wife Te Hirea, and several of their *mokopuna* (grand-children),

DWELLING-HOUSES OF THE OLD STYLE

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Every village also had its proper sanitary arrangements, in the form of a common latrine near the edge of a cliff or in some retired spot on the outskirts. Cleanliness in such matters was carefully attended to in olden days, as early voyagers have noted. Cook, in fact, contrasted the Maori village favourably with the towns of Southern Europe in this respect.[1] The *turuma* or beam of the latrine played an important part in certain magical and religious ceremonies.[2]

In another secluded part of the village was the *tuahu*, the sacred place, the "altar", often marked by a staff or a rough stone set up in the ground, at which the priest performed his magic rites.

The native village of to-day still retains certain of the features, notably the *marae*, or public square, and the *whare runanga*, the meeting-house of fine workmanship, often embellished with carving. The diagram in Fig. 1 gives a rough plan of a modern village which the writer visited in January, 1924, that of Ohaua-te-rangi in the Urewera country, situated on level ground above the right bank of the Whakatane River some ten miles below the Ruatahuna valley. Reference to the plan shows the features of a typical small village, the disposition of the dwellings roughly around an open space, a meeting-house (*A*) of better construction than the rest, cooking sheds, store pits, and a storehouse on posts. The plan should be compared with the photograph in Plate V which indicates the relative size of the village and the nature of its surroundings. It shows also the European type of dwelling now in use among these natives. It may be mentioned in passing that no one has apparently thought it necessary to record such a plan of an old-time village, which would have been of much greater interest.

Having given a brief concrete description of the Maori village, the focus of all industrial activity, we may now proceed to a sociological analysis of its constitution. In every native settlement there are two constant features, of the greatest importance in the life of the place, and hence also for social and economic study. These are the *marae* or village square, and the *whare runanga* or meeting-house, called also a *whare whakairo* or carved house, for it was usually ornamented in this fashion.

[1] J. Cook, ibid., 314.
[2] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxiv, 83–4; *Tuhoe*, i, 1925, 1137–42; *Maori*, i, 296–7; ii, 43.

The Whare Whakairo

On his entering a native village and advancing on to the *marae*, the attention of the visitor is drawn to the most outstanding building in the place. This is a rectangular house with a gable roof like the others but larger and of much finer workmanship. It is also carved and ornamented in distinctive style. This is a *whare whakairo*, a carved house, which is the *whare runanga*, the public meeting-house or hall of assembly of the village people.

In the whole field of Maori material culture there is perhaps no more important object than a carved building of this kind. From the economic point of view it has distinct significance. Its planning demanded an architect of skill, and its erection required co-operation on a large scale. Even the unskilled labour needed for the hauling and setting-up of the mighty timbers for ridge-pole and central pillars demanded careful organization and supervision. Experts in timber dressing, thatching, reed-work panelling, and carving had their part to play. At various stages of the building, again, the payment of the workers by presents involved a kind of capitalistic enterprise on the part of chief or community by the devotion of accumulated quantities of food and valuables to this end. Forethought and preliminary saving were essential factors. Economic co-operation was sometimes effected with skilled workers from other tribes. The organization of the work might have to extend over a considerable period, as some of these houses took a long time to build. A meeting-house at Te Oriori is named "Nga Tau e Waru" (The Eight Years) because, as I was told, that period of time was taken to complete it. Still, this is rather exceptional. Work was commenced on the large house "Hotunui" in 1875, and all the parts were finished by May, 1878. The building was done by about seventy men of Ngatiawa for the owners, Ngatimaru.

Some of these houses were of great size. The building erected by Ropata Wahawaha at Wai-o-matatini, Waiapu, was 85 feet long, 30 feet broad, and 20 feet high, and according to Major Large was calculated to hold 1,500 people. The house "Matatua", carved at Whakatane by Apanui and his Ngatiawa as a gift to Taipari of Hauraki, was 75 feet long and 32 feet broad, while the ridge-pole, a massive piece of timber 16 feet from the ground,

A. A MODERN MEETING HOUSE (*WHARE-RUNANGA*).
"Hine-nui-te-po" at Te Whaiti. The large size of door and window, the boarded floor and the supporting post to the gable are due to European influence.

B. A TRIBAL ANCESTOR
Carved wooden effigy of Toroa, from whom the Tuhoe people trace descent, at the base of the centre post in the house " Te Whai-a-te-Motu " at Matatua.

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was originally supported by four pillars. "Hotunui," built to replace it, is 80 feet long. "Te Whai-a-te-motu," at Ruatahuna, has a length of 76 feet, a breadth of 36 feet, and a height of 18 feet to the ridge-pole, while it is 6 feet high at the sides. The house "Rangitihi", carved by Wero, Anaha te Rahui, and others of Ngatitarawhai and Ngatipikiao, measures nearly 60 feet long by 25 feet wide and about 18 feet to the crown of the roof. The carving took between three and four years. The building of such houses, especially the erection of their massive framework, required a great amount of labour.

The *whare runanga* was the product of joint economic effort, realized through a complicated system of exchange of goods and services. Its wood-carvings were also the medium of expression of the highest forms of technical skill, combined with that artistic spirit displayed by the Maori in his crafts.[1] The building was indeed beautifully adorned. Ornate wood-carving was lavished on door jambs and lintel shield, on the window architrave, on the slabs along the inside of the verandah, on the ends of the deep barge boards, and on the posts which supported them. Rising from the apex of the gable was a finial in the form of a sculptured human figure or a head of grotesque design. The large plank of the outer threshold also bore carving. The interior of the house was tastefully decorated. The low walls were set off by broad wooden slabs, heavily carved, alternating with finely laced reed-work panels, each in its way an expression of the highest form of Maori decorative art. The skirting board and frieze-panels, as well, were often lightly carved. The massive ridge-pole, graven or painted also, was supported by one or more pillars, each hewn from a great tree trunk. At its base each one was worked into the semblance of a human figure, almost man-high. The rafters, finally, were limned in patterned scrolls and volutes of red, white, and black.[2]

[1] It is worthy of remark here that the finest productive skill and artistry, working through one of the most developed forms of economic organization of the native, was lavished on those objects which were not intended to satisfy the primary economic needs. A review of outstanding objects of Maori culture, such as the carved house, the war canoe, the greenstone neck ornament (*heitiki*), and the *taniko* cloak border shows that this is so. It entirely refutes the assertion of some theorists that the economics of primitive man consist almost wholly of making provision for the primary needs of food and shelter.

[2] For construction and decoration of Maori house see H. W. Williams, "The Maori *Whare*," *J.P.S.*, v, 145–54 (with diagrams); A. T. Ngata, ibid., vi, 85–8; A. Hamilton, *Maori Art*, 71–170; Te Rangi Hiroa, "Maori Decorative Art," *T.N.Z.I.*, liii, 452–70 (for reed-work panels); E. Best, *The Maori*, ii, 558–83 Cf. also *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxiv, 573–4; J. T. Large in *Wairoa Guardian*, 13th and 29th April, 1877; G. Mair, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxx, 41 et seq.

This decorative work was not of equal quality in all districts : the work of the East Coast was in general superior to that of the West, while different tribes specialized in various details. Thus Ngapuhi were artists in *raupo* work for reed-panels and thatching, while Ngatiporou were renowned for their carving and rafter painting. The Arawa were noted for their carved storehouses.

Of the *pataka* or storehouses on piles, each village possessed a number, though only one or two, the property of chiefs, were ever elaborately carved. In such case they were highly valued. Their ornamentation was on the exterior alone, and was usually restricted to the parts around the porch. This point offers a useful comment on the social appreciation of wood-carving among the Maori. For with the exception of the owner, people rarely went into a storehouse. Hence to be seen by all, and admired, carving had to be placed on the outside. But with the *whare runanga*, the meeting-house, the case was different. The constant use of it both by the village people themselves and by guests rendered it advisable to place some of the finest ornamentation in the verandah and around the interior walls. In other words, carving, though an expression of the æsthetic sense of the artist, was done with an eye to social appreciation. Hence it was only placed where it would be seen and admired to best advantage. Such an attitude was reinforced by traditional rules which specified the parts of a building appropriate for ornamentation.

The ground plan and front elevation (Figs. 2 and 2*a*) show the shape of the meeting-house and indicate the chief features of interest. The supporting posts for the ridge-pole varied in number according to their size and the dimensions of the house. In modern structures the projecting end of the ridge on which the barge courses are laid to form the verandah is also supported by a post, springing from the outer threshold (v. Plate VII). It is doubtful if this be an old usage. Window and door in former times were quite small, to retain warmth within the house. The fireplace, made by stones placed on edge in a rectangle, was somewhat forward of the centre of the building. The floor was of earth, left bare in the middle, but covered to both sides by a layer of grass or fern, with large mats on top for sleeping purposes.

Much etiquette pertained to one of these superior houses, especially as regards the position occupied by persons of different

A. A DOOR LINTEL (*KORUPE*) FROM A CARVED HOUSE

This fine old specimen, worked with stone tools, illustrates the skill and artistry of the Maori carver in former days. It is now in the Auckland Museum.

B. A CARVED DOOR LINTEL SHIELD

This was presented by Sir George Grey to the British Museum in 1854 and is a well-executed piece of work.

[*face p.* 84

status. The part allotted to guests was on the right-hand side as one enters, close under the window. The chief men of the village were then opposite, also near the front of the house. The chief of highest rank had his own sleeping place, near the centre pillar, and this could not be occupied or even touched by lesser persons. To do so was a great insult to him. Moreover, no food might be brought into the house, as this was destructive to its *tapu* (sacredness) and that of the people within.

In modern times these customs have become weakened, some elements being still retained while others are no longer observed. Thus at Matatua in 1924, a party of visiting relatives from Ruatoki, distant some forty miles, who had come as an *uhunga* or mourning party after the death of Te Pouwhare, were being entertained by the local people in " Te Whai-a-Te-Motu ", the great house there. When our party entered the building, the guests were reclining, in accordance with ancient usage, on mats under the window to the right of the door. But contrary to all the canons of olden time, a meal was served to them in the house on a long strip of white cloth unrolled on the floor to serve as a cover. Yet, despite this disregard of ancient rules, we visitors had to pay a heavy fine—namely, threepence per person—for going inside with our boots on, a proceeding derogatory to the *tapu* of the building! A pile of discarded footwear at the door testified to the respect of the faithful for their Maori sanctuary.

There was a great appreciation of carving among the Maori; even the handles of what appear to us to be quite insignificant implements were often cunningly graven, and most wooden tools were given a little touch of individuality by a scrap of carving.[1] Its ornamentation alone, then, would have made the carved house an object of pride and admiration. A conception of the heights to which the genius of the artist could attain is embodied in a myth. The chief Tangaroa paid a visit one day to the house built by Nuku-mai-teko and ornamented with carved figures. After greeting the chief with the customary salute of the *hongi*, the nose-pressing, Tangaroa saw in the dim light a tattooed figure standing at the side of the house, and advanced to greet him in the same style. But to his amazement he found that it was a wooden slab carved by the cunning hand

[1] Some notes on the sociological value of wood-carving are given by the present writer, " The Maori Carver," *J.P.S.*, xxxiv, 277–91.

of Nuku-mai-teko into the likeness of a tattooed chief. So was Tangaroa deceived.[1] Such a tale, showing the air of verisimilitude that could be imparted by the art of the carver to the wooden figure, is proof of the high renown that attached to the craft. Well-executed work always attracted admiration.

Such sentiments were strongly reinforced by the motif of certain of the carvings. The broad slabs which supported the interior walls were graven in the semblance of fabulous monsters, deities, and human beings. These latter, with which we are principally concerned, were of two types. The first showed a distorted and conventionalized form, a huge head with staring eyes in sockets rakishly aslant, wide gaping mouth and outthrust tongue, bowed legs, the hand gripping a weapon or with fingers clasped on stomach. The other type is more naturalistic, though still of a distinctly conventionalized character. The face is that of a human being in repose, without the leering demoniac aspect of the former style, and bears the intricate tracery of the chiefly tattoo. The proportions of the human body are also better preserved. This type of sculpture was the one generally adopted for the base of the *pou-toko-manawa*, the central post supporting the ridge-pole. (See Plate VII.) One significant fact about the carvings of either type is that they generally bear the names of deities or famous ancestors of the tribe, mythical eponymic heroes of the misty past, or men who were renowned for their deeds in far distant days, and who perhaps had given their name to a *hapu* of descendants. In " Te Tokanganui-a-noho ", the modern meeting-house at Te Kuiti, the slabs of which were carved by men of many different tribes, appear such famous people as Tamatea, Tama-te-kapua, Toroa, and Hoturoa, captains of the four canoes Takitimu, Arawa, Matatua, and Tainui respectively ; Kupe and Paikea, navigators of old, Kahungunu, Porourangi, Paoa, Tuwharetoa, Maniapoto, and Apanui, from each of whom a tribe of to-day takes its name, together with the lady Whakaotirangi, saviour of the *kumara*, Ruawharo, priest of Takitimu ; Tuhoe and Maahu, ancestors of the Urewera, and others of note.

In accordance with modern usage, each is carefully labelled with his name. But in ancient days this was neither possible nor necessary. Writing was unknown—despite some weird

[1] J. Cowan, *Maoris of N.Z.*, 171 ; cf. Best, *Maori*, ii, 559, for another version where to Rua also is attributed the first introduction of the knowledge of carving.

statements to the contrary which have lately appeared—but each ancestor usually had some distinguishing marks by which he could be recognized. Thus in " Tokanga-nui-a-noho " there is Maahu, *tipuna* (ancestor) of Tuhoe, who is shown with the *tawhara* flower, a forest product of which the fleshy bracts are eaten by those people. Tuwharetoa has the peak of Tongariro at his side, while the demi-god Maui is displayed with two ropes, to one of which is attached the sun, reminiscent of his daylight-saving feat. In the house at Rotorua which bears his name, Tama-te-kapua of Arawa is represented with stilts in hand. But much of the more realistic detail found in meeting-houses of to-day is purely modern.

To the instructed persons of olden days such a row of carven figures around the walls was as a portrait gallery of their chiefly forbears. One difference of note obtains between these and the portraits one sees in the ancestral halls of Europe. The Maori did not sculpture figures of the living,. but only of ancestors dead for many generations. And then he did not aim at portraying their facial features with fidelity, but rather at conjuring up their remembrance by some associated detail. It was the memory of their words, of their deeds, and of their greatness in the tribe that the artist wished to perpetuate. Hence the carved slabs were not true portraits, but conventionalized symbolic tokens of remembrance.

So also with the figures carved at the base of the house pillars. Plate VII shows one of these representing Toroa, captain of the Matatua canoe, who stands inside the great carved house " Te Whai-a-te-motu " at Matatua in the Urewera district.

The function performed by these carvings of gods and well-known ancestors is important from the sociological point of view. The figures of weird monsters illustrated the mythological tales. The representations of deities had a practical religious significance. As material symbols of the pantheon of supernatural beings by whom the Maori regulated his life, they helped to form that solid objective background for myth and ritual which seems essential to the practice of any system of religious belief. The figures of ancestors performed a somewhat similar function for social organization and traditional knowledge.

The Maori always had a great respect for his *tupuna*, his ancestors. Their words and sayings were treasured for generations and often passed into proverbs. " Hold fast to the words

of your ancestors" was an old saying inculcated in the younger generation. They were also the pivot on which ostensibly hung the social organization of the tribe. Knowledge of genealogies was most carefully conserved, and the long lines of names, with much descriptive matter, were painstakingly taught to the young people of rank. Now the presence of the carved slabs in the house of assembly tended to strengthen and preserve this knowledge of ancestral names and deeds. When a new house was opened and the *tapu* of building removed, the people of the village, women and children as well as men, crowded in to admire loudly the decorative effects—to criticize or applaud the delineation of the carved figures, and to speculate on and identify the representations of ancestors. After its opening the house was used freely by the people in the evenings for games, gossip, the discussion of village and tribal affairs, and the greeting of guests. To this the ancestral figures made an effective background. With light from the dancing flames flickering on their moulded limbs, and giving a bright gleam to their eyes of iridescent shell, their presence was appropriate to the flow of laughter and talk, the recital of tribal history, old songs, tales of fights, and the honoured dead. Their sculptured outlines around the walls served as a constant though unconscious reminder of the fame of the tribe. As symbols of the past they bore witness to the living reality of the present. They were interwoven with all the impressions from earliest childhood. By questions about them and the remarks of adults, ever keen to impress upon their juniors a knowledge of the past, the young people absorbed much ancestral lore.

The carved slabs, then, helped to keep green the memory of ancestral names and deeds, to assist in the perpetuation of that social tradition which is the heritage of every community. They also were a witness to the reality of the social organization, and formed a nucleus for that sentiment and tribal pride which was so important an element in binding together the people.

The whole *whare whakairo* often served by its very name to perpetuate some piece of tribal history and to keep the memory of it fresh in the minds of the people. Thus it is with the great Hauhau meeting-house, "Te Whai-a-te-motu," at Matatua—"The Chase of the Island"—so called because of the wide and tireless pursuit of the "rebel" Te Kooti by the Government troops. "Te Poho-o-Potiki" at Ohaua-te-Rangi (see Plate V)

and "Te Puhi-a-Matatua" at Te Totara, Ruatoki, are both significant expressions of the tribal pride of the Tuhoe people. Potiki was a famous ancestor, and Matatua was the ancestral canoe of the migration. "Te Poho-o-Parahaki" at Te Umuroa, Ruatahuna, likewise commemorates a well-known ancestor. Parahaki was the son of Manunui, from whom Ngatimanunui take their name. The finely carved house "Rangitihi", formerly standing at Te Taheke on the shores of Lake Rotoiti, and now in the Auckland Museum, is named after a prominent ancestor of the Arawa people (see Genealogical Table). "Tama-te-Kapua" and "Kearoa" at Rotorua are carved houses of the Arawa folk, called one after the captain, the other after the wife of the priest of the Arawa canoe, the ancestral vessel of the tribe, while "Hotunui", after whom was named a house built at Thames, was a great ancestor of Ngatimaru, the owners. A little *whare runanga*, now disused, at Pukaki on the Manukau harbour is called "Makau-rau", or so I was told by an aged lady of the settlement. This commemorates the old name of the Auckland isthmus—Tamaki-makau-rau—Tamaki of the many lovers.[1] At times a superior house was built for a special purpose, as a preliminary to seeking vengeance, or to gather tribes together for meeting in some common cause, and cement the alliance between them. The name then given to the house usually had reference to the event for which it was built, and served to recall the circumstances to the minds of the people in future years. The Maori had many such mnemonic devices.[2]

The *whare whakairo* was thus a centre of communal life, a place literally crammed with tribal associations, its very name redolent with tribal feeling or significant of some episode of note. In this way it tended to provide a focus for the sentiment of the people. In its material structure and type of adornment it gave a means of expression for æsthetic interests, offering a field of display for the highest branches of wood-carving and of reed-panel technique. It gave the village people, their relatives and guests an opportunity of appreciating the art of the carver; it provided a "gallery for display" and a "public" before whom the artist could place his work for criticism and admiration.

[1] The writer was once told by a European well versed in the Maori tongue that *tamaki* bears the meaning of battlefield. He quoted also the word said to him by a young Raratongan who was leaving for the war. "I am going to the *tamaki*—to the battlefield." This meaning, however, has not been corroborated.

[2] Cf. S. Percy Smith, *Peopling of the North*, 60; Best, *J.P.S.*, xi, 161.

In the study of Maori economics the carved house is of great importance as an example of the relation of social interests to work. It was one of the *chefs d'œuvre* of productive skill, both in the amount of communal labour and organization required to erect it, and in the artistry expended on its adornment. The place of the carved woodwork of such a house in popular estimation indicates clearly the complexity of economic motivation, and the inter-relation of technical skill, art, and social organization. It might be said that these highly elaborated objects take their fundamental form in social organization, are refined by the processes of artistic feeling, and are executed by technical skill working through the economic system.

Social Relations in the Village

In the discussion of the two great rallying points of village life, the public square and the meeting-house, the community has been treated rather as if it were an undifferentiated body, acting in group unanimity. The analysis of the social organization must now be carried further, to show the type of units which composed the village, and the nature of the social stratification.

The Maori village comprised a number of households, each centring its activities around a dwelling-hut. These were mainly used for sleeping or resting in bad weather, since no cooking could be done or meals taken within them, and economic tasks were better performed outside. Nevertheless to a certain group of people the dwelling-house represented their home. Usually each hut was occupied by a single family; often, however, it was shared by a larger group of relatives, in which case each little group of parents and children usually occupied its own corner of the dwelling. But no partition of any kind was ever raised and great freedom was observed.

Figure 3 shows the plan of such a dwelling-house, of the *wharepuni* type. Modern examples are shown in Plate VI.[1] The door and window were both small, and the interior fittings very simple. A space of bare earth ran down the middle of the hut, with a stone fireplace in the centre. Small timbers or a line of stones set on edge marked off a sleeping place on either side and sometimes at the back also. Bracken was spread to soften the hardness of Mother Earth, and mats were laid over the

[1] For a short description of modern *wharepuni* see Raymond Firth, *Man*, March, 1926.

top. Guests slept near the window as in the houses of superior style.

Other furniture was practically absent from the hut. A flax cord or a pole stretched across a corner allowed small objects to be hung up temporarily, but cooking utensils were kept in a shed near the ovens, and tools were stored in a hut on posts or in a shed. Eating dishes were freshly made for each meal and then thrown away. To each household belonged a few store pits for root crops, a plain hut on posts for preserved foods and gear of all kinds, and an oven or two in the cooking shed. A few sleeping mats, some utensils, such as water gourds, bark containers, flax kits, and the like completed the tale of immediate household belongings. Chiefs, of course, had more property than other men, but this consisted in ornaments, fine garments, and large stores of food rather than in any more ostentatious furnishing of the dwelling-house. There were no overwhelming property distinctions in Maori society.

The social stratification within the community was fairly simple in its fundamental principles. Theoretically there may be said to have been three classes of people in Maori society: chiefs, commoners, and slaves. But to understand the many shades of social differentiation a closer analysis of the exact content of each term is necessary. With the chiefs, a distinction must be drawn between *ariki* and *rangatira*. The *ariki* was a high-born chief, a descendant of first-born children in a continuous elder line, or to adopt Best's definition, "a first-born male or female of a leading family of a tribe."[1] The *rangatira* were the "gentlemen", junior relatives of the *ariki*. The terms *tumu whakarae*, *poutangata*, *pouwhenua*, and the like, sometimes said to indicate a class of persons of superior standing to *ariki*, were in reality honorific terms for such chiefs in one capacity or another.[2] The commoners were people of low social standing, due to such causes as consistent descent from younger members of junior branches of a family—younger sons of younger sons *ad infinitum*—intermarriage of people of low rank with slaves, or loss of prestige, as being the offspring of persons redeemed from slavery. In its essential nature the social stratification

[1] Best, *Maori*, i, 345; cf. also ibid., *J.R.A.I.*, xxxii, 1902, 184; E. Shortland, *Trad. and Sup.*, 1856, 103–5; Hare Hongi, *Maori-English Tutor*, 147–9, 175; Nicholas, i, 289–93.

[2] Cf. T. G. Hammond, *J.P.S.*, xvii, 162–5; ibid., *Story of Aotea*, 193–7; Hare Hongi, *J.P.S.*, xviii, 84–9; *Maori-English Tutor*, 147–9; Best, *Maori*, i, 344–6.

is coincident with the general principle of Maori grouping, that of descent from common ancestors. For, given the value attached to primogeniture, since all members of a group trace their ancestry back to the same forbear, the main differences in rank emerge naturally from the order of birth. Especial social prestige attached to priests, wizards who practised black magic, and the teachers of traditional lore, whose status depended upon their training rather than upon their birth—though they were generally drawn from chiefly families. Tattooers, carvers, and experts in various branches of economic activity also gained social position by reason of their skill, as did famous warriors. But these persons did not constitute distinct social classes, such as were created by status of birth. The term *tohunga*, properly applicable to an expert in any branch of knowledge, was in no way a class badge, as has been sometimes suggested.

It has been maintained, with a certain point, that Maori society comprised only two classes, *rangatira* and slaves, since all free members of the tribe were related in some degree to chiefs of rank, and could therefore consider themselves gentlemen. Best remarks that during his long contact with the Maori he has never found a person who would admit that he belonged to the class of commoners![1] A man of Ngatimanunui once modestly denied to the present writer that he was a *rangatira*, but in modern speech this term is often used with the distinctive meaning of actual chief, and he was understood in this sense.

The social differentiation between chiefs and men of lesser rank was not marked by any exaggerated forms of respect. No commoner crouched or made obeisance before a chief, nor were any special titles or terms of respect used in addressing hin in ordinary conversation, beyond those prescribed by etiquette as due to married people or aged persons. A very independent spirit obtained in the contacts of everyday village life. The special position of a chief was seen in the weight of his opinion when expressed at public gatherings, his trained proficiency as an orator, his knowledge of genealogies, proverbs, and songs, his assumption of leadership in war and in economic undertakings, the greater amount of ceremonial pertaining to his birth, marriage, and death, and his observance of a much stricter system of *tapu*.

Eminence of birth alone, however, was not the sole passport

[1] Best, ii, 346.

to rank and influence. As a chief, practical qualities of decision of character, foresight, initiative, and ability were required as well.[1] When these were not apparent in the first-born son, then the leadership of the tribe would pass over him and be vested in his younger brother, if capable, or failing him in the nearest male cousin, as a rule patrilineal, but in default, of matrilineal connexion, most fitted to command. But in religious and ceremonial affairs the *ariki* still played his part. Some examples given me by Mr. Geo. Graham in a most interesting communication illustrate this point very clearly.

Te Hira was by birth the hereditary chief of Te Taou *hapu* of Ngatiwhatua, but neither he nor his brother were men of force of character. Hence their father passed his *mana* (authority) on to Paora Tuhaere, his nephew. To this man the Ngatiwhatua of that *hapu* looked for guidance, and he was their recognized political head, restrained them from participating in the "King" movement, and conducted the affairs of the people to the time of his death.

But Hira still retained the prestige of birth and could not be deprived of his status of *ariki*, the lineal heir. In certain magical and ceremonial performances, he and he only could officiate. Thus for the imposing and lifting of *tapu*, the carrying out of ritual observances as at the birth of children, hair cutting, the fixing of boundary marks, defining tribal territory, recital of curative magic and the like, no one else could take his place. The reception of visitors, speech-making on state occasions, as for the tribe as a whole, the recital of genealogies, and the giving and receiving of presents were all the privileges of Te Hira. To him again belonged the right of bestowing names on children, and of asking for female children of other tribes as the betrothed wives for the young men of his own people. With him rested the guardianship of the tribal *taonga* (heirlooms) and the *mauri* (talismans) of fisheries and forests. All this centred around him as the *ariki*.

The eldest in descent, though deprived by incompetence of his authority as leader of the tribe, always retained his *mana*

[1] Best has some very interesting remarks (*J.P.S.*, vii, 1898, 242) on the *pu manawa*, the qualities of man. A good chief was supposed to possess eight of these. He must be: (1) Industrious in collecting food; (2) able in settling disputes; (3) brave; (4) a good leader in war; (5) expert in carving, tattooing, and ornamental weaving; (6) hospitable; (7) clever at building houses, *pa*, and canoes; (8) learned in tribal boundaries. A plebeian is said to have only four *pu manawa*.

ariki—his prestige as the first-born son, and certain associated privileges of a ritual or ceremonial nature. Moreover, the son or later descendant of the *ariki* might again recover the political and social status of his less competent father or grandsire, and so once more unite in his person the exoteric as well as the esoteric *mana* of chieftainship.

This division of the powers of the *ariki* in the somewhat rare cases of incompetence, to allow of a secular as well as a temporal head, secured the efficient government of the tribe. The Maori, despite his reverence for primo-geniture, has a sane outlook in such matters ; he does not blindly allow the fortunes of the tribe to be sacrificed to the lack of ability of the lineal chieftain.

A chief who led his tribe by virtue of authority gained by ability or force of character as distinct from birth, is always recognized as holding his position in such a capacity. He is known as a *rangatira paraparau*. Such were Paora Tuhaere and the renowned Te Rauparaha. The main points of the story of how the latter gained his authority are well known, but the version given by Mr. Graham is worthy of mention here. All Ngatitoa were assembled to hear the *poroporoaki* (last words) of their dying chief Hapi Tuarangi, a famous warrior who had ably led his people for many years. The problem of his successor was an anxious one, for the situation of the tribe was perilous, and only a man of great courage, self-confidence, and political wisdom could hope to guide its destinies. So it befel that none of the near relatives of the dying chief were willing to undertake the heavy responsibility, and only Te Rauparaha, then a mere youth, responded to the call. "Who after me will lead my tribe ?" was the momentous question of the old man. After some minutes' silence, when neither the sons nor elder nephews replied, Rau stood up at the far end of the village *marae* and called out, "*E koro, ko au tonu—Ka mate atu he tete kura, ka ara ano he tete kura.*" "O, Sire—I indeed will do so—for as the carved stern-post of the canoe passes into decay, still another such carved stern-post will arise."[1] That is, the tribe (canoe) would not be without its necessary leadership and dignity. The *tete kura* is ceremonially the most important part of the canoe : from its *mana* the canoe derives its speed, sea-worthiness, and general efficacy. Hence the simile of Te Rauparaha—he

[1] Archdeacon H. W. Williams, author of the authoritative *Maori Dictionary*, translates *tete kura* as "figure-head" and is of opinion that its basic meaning is the young curled frond of the tree-fern, connected with the spiral motif of the carving. Whatever be the ultimate referent, the social significance of the proverb is clear.

would be the *tete kura* to replace that which was being destroyed by death. When the stern-post of a canoe became decayed or broken, another took its place—even so with the chiefs of the tribe. Such was the word of Te Rauparaha in reply to the question of the dying *ariki*, which gained him the leadership of the tribe, a position which his ability, force of character, and enterprise enabled him to hold firm.

As a rule a chief nominated his successor before death, and this was ratified by the approval of the assembled people, given not loudly and with one voice, but by silence or small sounds of assent, as of a slight cough running round the gathering. The eldest son of the deceased chief, if a man of proved ability, often assumed his father's place without formal acknowledgment, but the tacit acceptance of the people, as shown in their obedience to his wishes, was needed as an endorsement of his position and authority.

One mark of a chief was generally the number of slaves he had in his household. Slavery was a definite and useful institution among the Maori, and prisoners taken in war comprised the main part of the people in this category. There was no static slave class, since the women, especially, intermarried with free people of low rank, and the resulting offspring were free. Slave girls, too, were often taken as concubines or secondary wives by chiefs, and the children, though they always bore the stigma of their parenthood, could freely wield power and influence. Slaves were not general tribal property, but always belonged to individual owners. On the whole, the relations between them and their masters were easy and pleasant. The slaves did the menial work, but were well fed and housed. Though without the protection of any specific social rules, being at the mercy of the anger of their master, and liable to be called upon for a human sacrifice or to provide a relish to a feast, on the average they were well treated. But the statement of William Brown that slaves frequently possessed land which was freely distributed among them by their master, whose interest lay in conciliating their goodwill, is quite wide of the truth.[1] A Maori

[1] Wm. Brown, *New Zealand*, 29. The same statement is made by W. Brun: [Ein Sklave] "konnte ein Vermögen haben und sogar Landeigentumer sein" (*Die Wirtschaftsorganisation der Maori*, 30). The latter remark is quite incorrect. For this Brun cites as his authority Schirren. But in reality the latter refers to Gipps (*Papers relating to N.Z.*, 1841, 63) and Chamerovzov to refute this very statement, which is made by Nicholas. He concludes: "Diese Auffassung widerstreitet der freilich ungemein seltene Fall, das es zu Rangihu in der Inselbai sogar Sklaven gab, welche selbständige Landbesitz mit den Recht

slave, not being a member of the tribe, could never possess land, and it is to be doubted if, except in rare instances, he could cultivate for himself a piece of ground allotted to him by his owner.

A hint has now been given of certain of the principles which determined social relations within the village, but there are still further aspects to be developed.

Kinship Grouping

From the description of the Maori village it will have been realized already that there are other ties besides that of common habitation to bind together the members of the community and determine the manner of their association. Of paramount importance in this connexion are the bonds of kinship, which break up the native society into a number of distinct groups. This grouping may first be considered in relation to the village, and then as it enters the wider sphere of social activity.

The concrete point of focus, of which a number in aggregation formed the village, was the dwelling-hut, occupied by a specific group of people. The constitution of this group varied according to circumstances. Sometimes a man, his wife and children occupied the house alone, sometimes it was shared by several brothers with their wives and families, or again by an old man and his wife with their children and grandchildren. Such a group was called a *whanau*, a term which may be translated as " extended family ", or " family group ", corresponding to the German *Grossfamilie*.[1] The *whanau* was a social unit of the utmost importance. It had great cohesion, since its members were few, ranged only through three or four generations, and were bound together by the closest ties of kinship. Of its nature the *whanau* was not a large group. Best mentions one of his acquaintance that numbered ninety-two persons,[2] but this is exceptional. In such a case the *whanau* would probably occupy

zu vererben aufweisen konnten " (Schirren, *Mauimythos*, 7). The original for all this is apparently the statement by Nicholas (1817) that at Rangihu " many of the cookees have ground which they hold by an independent tenure ", etc. (i, 290.) But Nicholas himself points out the difficulty of giving an accurate account of the " political economy " of the Maori without a perfect knowledge of their language ; if his statement as to the holding of land is correct, then the people to whom he refers were clearly not slaves.

[1] Archdeacon Williams in his Dictionary gives *ngare* as a term for " family ", or " a number of people connected by blood " ; this does not seem to be a word in common use.

[2] Best, *Maori*, i, 343.

a whole section of a village; in the ordinary way, however, it utilized only a hut or two.

The *whanau* functioned as the unit for ordinary social and economic affairs. Besides common occupation of the dwelling-house, its members, under their head man, followed many industrial pursuits together. In the *kumara* field a plot, or perhaps several, were held by the family group and were cultivated by the members working as a body. Small eel-weirs and canoes were owned by the *whanau—he waka eke noa* is the phrase used to denote common property in the latter.[1] Rights of fishing and rat-trapping were often exercised by people in their capacity as members of such a group. The small size of the *whanau* and the close nature of the ties binding its members together made it a very useful working body in such occupations as demanded only a few people, and co-operation of a not too complex order. Hence rat-trapping, fishing from a canoe, or the building of a small eel-weir on a branch stream, were tasks for which the ordinary *whanau* was well adapted. In matters of organization each *whanau* was fairly self-reliant, the direction being taken by the head man of the group in consultation with other responsible people. As a rule it managed its own affairs without interference, except in such cases as came within the sphere of village or tribal policy.

After a few generations, as the *whanau* increased in numbers, it became of sufficient importance to rank as a *hapu*, an extended kinship group, sometimes called clan, and to adopt a group title. Some men of influence would propose that henceforth the people be known as (say) Ngati-Kahu, naming a common ancestor Kahu from whom the members of the group all traced descent. To this name the prefix Ngati (or Ati, Ngai, Aitanga-a-, Whanau-a-, all meaning "descendants of") was added. The ancestor whose name the *hapu* took would be a person of note. Thus Ngati-Rongo, a portion of which *hapu* now dwells at Ohaua-te-rangi (v. Plate V), trace their descent and take their name from Rongo-karae, a well-known ancestor who lived about three hundred years ago. And Ngati-Rangi-te-ao-rere take their name from that famous warrior whose *mana* rose so high among the Arawa after his capture of Mokoia. Sometimes a *hapu* bore the name of a woman of rank,[2] sometimes it took its title

[1] Best, ibid., 394.

[2] As, for instance, Ngati Hine-pare from Hine-pare, a chieftainess who lived eleven generations ago; v. Gudgeon, *J.P.S.*, iv, 1895, 29.

from some special incident. The people who dwelt in New Zealand prior to the coming of the Polynesians of the Great Fleet seem to have borne names derived from natural objects.[1]

The *hapu* was in no sense an exogamous group. Marriage, as a matter of fact, was encouraged within the *hapu* so long as the parties were not nearly related, but here again endogamy was not insisted upon. Again, the *hapu* was not a purely unilateral group. Descent through one parent only was necessary to establish membership in it, but an interesting feature of the system is that both mother and father were counted in tracing descent. Were they of different *hapu*, the children belonged to both ; were they of the same *hapu*, the children had a double qualification for membership. Moreover, in the tracing of descent neither the matrilineal nor the patrilineal principle was rigidly followed ; males and females might figure in the same genealogical line. As a rule, however, a person preferred to have his main line of descent from his most important ancestor following through males alone. Still, the names of women occur here and there even in some of the genealogies of the people of highest rank. The admission to membership through descent from either males or females—or both conjoined—shows that the *hapu* is not a unilateral group of the strict type. It may be called, in fact, an *ambilateral* group, since both parents are eligible for the purposes of kinship affiliation. The Maori *hapu* has often been described as a " clan ", a term which may be retained for ease of reference and theoretical comparison, so long as its present connotation is remembered. To apply the term " clan " to a non-exogamous, not strictly patrilineal or matrilineal group may seem to conflict somewhat with general usage ; if its significance as shown in this context is borne in mind, however, no confusion need arise. In any case there has been a tendency in anthropology to give an undue rigidity to the concept of clan, to make of it an abstract entity rather than a working definition which shall embrace all varieties of a particular basic type of social group, with all its diversity of form and structure.[2] The term may thus be used where it

[1] For naming of Maori *hapu* v. Best, *Maori*, i, 344 ; J. A. Wilson, *Sketches of Ancient Maori Life*, 1894, 3 ; G. Mair, *Reminiscences*, 61 ; J. Cowan, *Maoris of N.Z.*, 97.

[2] For useful discussion of terminology in relation to the clan and other social groups, v. R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, chap. iii et seq. ; R. Thurnwald, *Gemeinde der Banaro*, 5–9 ; A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, 242 et seq. *The Psychology of Kinship* (in preparation), by Dr. B. Malinowski, which I have

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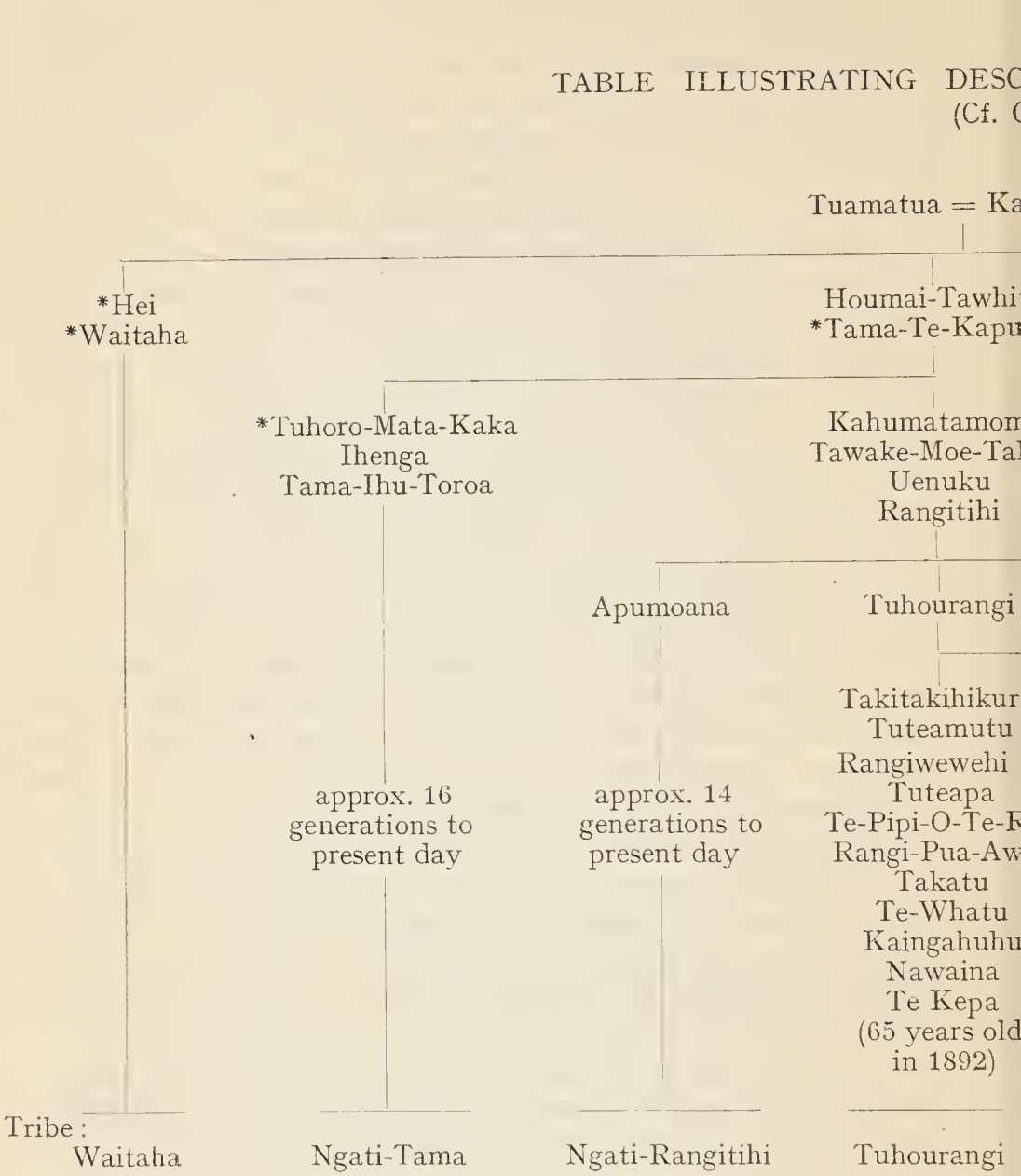

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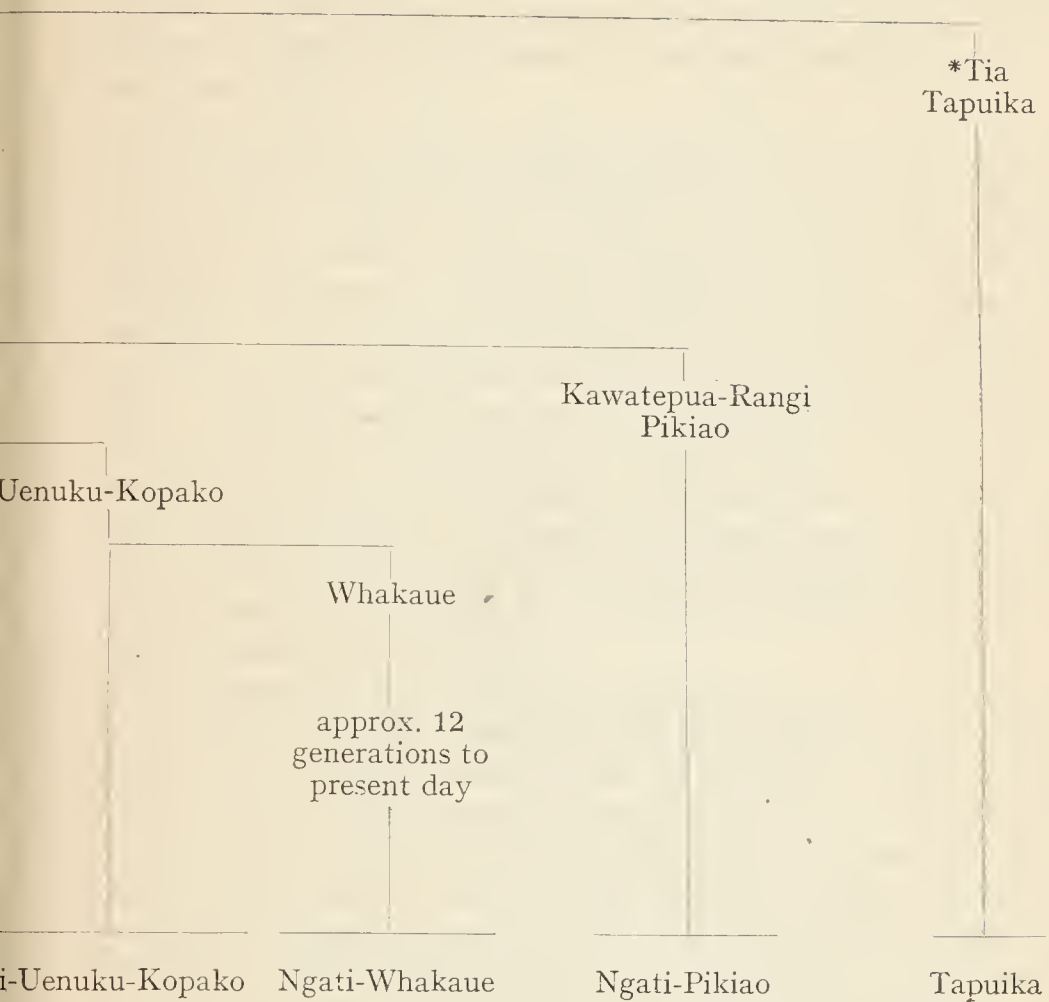

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i, 222 ; ii, 157 ; iii, 47–8.
akaanui Tarakawa, *J.P.S.*, ii, 242 ; 248–9.
and Superstitions, 310.
Buck), *Trans. N.Z. Inst.*, liii, 433.

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is desired to draw the *hapu* within some general theoretical discussion. As a rule, however, the native word will be retained in this work.

The number of people in a *hapu* varied greatly, but generally the group comprised at least several hundred members. Within the large *hapu*, these being direct subdivisions of the tribe, the course of progressive segmentation gave minor *hapu*, smaller groups descended from a fairly recent ancestor, but still too large to be regarded as *whanau*. These were called *hapu*, as in the former case.[1]

There is little point in trying to establish any exact correlation between local group and kinship group. As a rule a village was held by a single *hapu*, though if it were very large, then several *hapu* might occupy it together. In such case their respective quarters were usually delimited by low fences or palisades. On the other hand many small villages, residential sites of less importance, were held by merely a section of a large *hapu*. The precise relation between kinship group and local group depended on the relative size of each, the nature of the country, the degree of friendliness between related groups, and other variable factors. Again, the village population would always comprise a few persons not of the kinship group, as wives or husbands from other *hapu* or tribes and visiting strangers who had settled down there.

The principle that descent from an ancestor of the *hapu* was sufficient basis for membership therein appears to have been qualified by certain considerations of residence. Thus if A, a member of a stranger *hapu*, comes to reside in the village and marries B, one of the local *hapu*, their children will belong to the *hapu* of both parents. If now these children continue to reside in the same village and marry people of the place, their offspring, though by blood mainly of *hapu* B, will still belong to the *hapu* of A through their grandfather. But continued residence in the village for several generations will make the link with A's people weaker, until ultimately the descendants of the first pair will consider themselves as simply members of *hapu* B, with a distant link of relationship to that of A. Unless they go back from time to time to A's village and keep up the connexion

had the privilege of reading in MS., is a work which by its novel method of approach yields results of the greatest value for the study of native social organization. I have been greatly assisted by it in analysing the Maori social system.

[1] v. E. Best, *Tuhoe*, i, 214–15, for examples of this.

by residence, they lose status of membership there and their claims to such property as land become *mataotao* (cold). Thus in determining actual membership of a *hapu* the practical qualification of residence was added to the pure principle of descent. Kinship is a matter of sociological reality, and is not to be defined simply by a rule of theory. This example also indicates how the factor of propinquity of relationship entered to condition the principle of kinship affiliation by descent. Theoretically a person was linked with all the *hapu* to which every one of his various ancestors belonged; in practice the weaker links were dropped. As a connexion with a stranger *hapu* created by an intrusive marriage became more distant in the passage of generations the tie was gradually severed. With men of rank, however, it persisted long, since it carried social and political significance.[1] These remarks do not apply so much to ordinary persons, who commonly married within their own *hapu* (i.e. the large group forming the immediate division of the tribe), and who were consequently not possessed of so many ramifications of genealogy or interests in external groups.

The largest Maori kinship group was the tribe (*iwi*). This comprised a number of related *hapu*, the members of each being able to trace back their descent to the common ancestor of all. The Ngati-Tuwharetoa tribe, for instance, are descended from Tuwharetoa, who lived twelve generations before the late chief Tureiti Te Heuheu (died in 1921) or about three hundred years ago. Ngati-Whakaue of Rotorua spring from one Whakaue, a chief of great renown, who is said to have lived some thirteen generations ago. The Tapuika tribe take their title from an ancestor of that name, who was a cousin of Tama-te-kapua, and is calculated to have lived about the latter half of the fourteenth century. The genealogical table illustrates the manner in which tribes are descended and take their name from famous ancestors, as also the way in which they are related. Thus the principle on which both *whanau* and *hapu* were based, that of descent from a common ancestor, was also a fundamental factor in the composition of the Maori tribe. This idea is in fact the root principle of the whole constitution of Maori society. Its ramifications extend throughout all types of grouping, whether economic, social, or political.

The general principle which has thus been traced out in

[1] The direct line of descent from famous ancestors was termed *tahu hu* (cf. its meaning of ridge-pole ") or *tuara* (" the back ") and carried great prestige.

the formation of kinship groups may now be exemplified by a reference to Maori society from the historico-geographical standpoint. One of the central features of the native social organization is based on the traditional arrival of the fleet of canoes in New Zealand about 1350, an approximate date established by careful comparison of a large number of genealogical lines from all parts of New Zealand, as well as in Tahiti and Raratonga, their place of departure. There was a large population in the land prior to this time, the result of previous voyages, and intermarriage between the two stocks was general, but the primary social value has attached itself to the coming of the later immigrants. Their principal canoes were: Tainui, Arawa, Takitimu, Matatua, Aotea, and Tokomaru, names which continually recur in poem and story, and are mirrored even in the native social organization. From the crews of these vessels the Maori tribes trace their descent. Thus in the Arawa canoe came, among others, Tama-te-kapua, Ngatoro-i-rangi, and Tia. From the first-named are descended Ngati-Rangitihi, Tuhourangi, Ngati-Whakaue, Ngati-Pikiao, and other tribes; from the second, Ngati-Tuwharetoa and others; from the third Tapuika. (See the Genealogical Table.) These and other tribes descended from the remainder of the crew occupy a large district in the east and centre of the North Island and together are known as Te Arawa.

Here, then, emerges another type of social grouping, the *waka* or canoe. The *waka* in this sense signifies a group of tribes whose ancestors formed the crew of one of the famous canoes of the fourteenth century. We have already noted one example in the case of Te Arawa. Again, the Waikato and allied tribes of Ngati-Maru, Ngati-Haua, and Ngati-Maniapoto are of Tainui stock, the natives of Taranaki are of the Aotea canoe, and the people of Urewera and adjacent lands belong to Matatua. The *waka* was a loose amorphous political unit, the tribes of which fought without scruple against one another; nevertheless the sharing of the same ancestral canoe did constitute a slight bond of union. Any native of to-day knows to which "canoe" he belongs, and the visitor to a modern meeting-house often sees a quaint drawing of the ancestral *waka* on the rafters or on a wall slab. A poetic expression of this sentiment for the "canoe" occurred after the death of the chief Te Heuheu, a man of the highest rank among the Arawa, whose body had to be carried

home for burial by a circuitous route, in order that the honoured dead might pass to his last resting place on no other but his own " canoe ", i.e. only over the lands of the Arawa people.

The Family

The analysis of Maori kinship grouping so far has been based on the data set down by various authorities, principally by Mr. Elsdon Best. Some surprise may have been caused by the fact that no mention has been made of one group which is by some anthropologists deemed to be of cardinal importance to the structure of any society, that is, the individual family of father, mother, and immature children. The question at once arises: what is its place in the Maori social scheme? Does such a distinctive group exist, and if so, how does it fit into the analysis just given?

The general opinion of the Maori scholars may be summed up by an examination of the views of Best. He gives much valuable material to explain the principles of social grouping, but tacitly ignores the deeper issues of our specific problem, being of the opinion that the individual family is almost a negligible factor. He says, " A Maori community lacked family life as we know it. The social organization, the communistic habits of the people were against such a condition ".[1] " The Maori family is not a self-contained, cohesive unit " [2]; " the family group or sub-clan obtains and would appear to take the place of the family " [3]; " the true family is lost in the group." [4] Further than this he does not go in analysis.

The central point of these statements is clear. Best is of the opinion that in the Maori community the individual family as it is known to us was neither the fundamental basis of social life nor even a social unit of any importance. The usual functions of the individual family were performed by the *whanau*, the larger family group. This state of affairs is also said to be reflected in the terminology of kinship. Thus there is no precise term to include both parents and children, and so to indicate the true family, though there are terms for each of the other kinship groups. " This fact illustrates the importance of the family group, the true social unit." [5] Moreover, the terms for brother and sister apply also to cousins, and those for mother and father

[1] Best, *Maori*, i, 361.
[2] Ibid., 361.
[3] Best, *J.R.A.I.*, xxxii, 1902, 184.
[4] Best, *Maori*, i, 341.
[5] Ibid., 364.

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Te Rarawa
Uri-o-Hau
Ngati Whatua
Ngati Paoa
Ngati Whanaunga
Ngati Maru
Ngati Tamatera
Ngai Tai
Ngati Haua
Ngati Raukawa
Ngati Toa
Ngati Mania
Ngati Tama
Ngati Mutunga
Ngati Hau
Te Atiawa
Taranaki
Ngati Ruanui
Nga Rauru
Whanganui
Ngati Tuwharetoa
Ngati Porou
Whanau a Apanui
Ngaitai
Te Arawa
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Ngati Apa
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to both maternal and paternal aunts and uncles, a form of the so-called classificatory system of denoting relatives. "As a result of the communistic habits of the Maori, his consanguineous nomenclature differed from our own." [1] That usually sound authority on native life, Judge J. A. Wilson, amplifies this point a little further. The Maori communist, he argues, could not even claim his own children exclusively. For his brother if childless might adopt one of them, and his sister if lonely might come and take away one or two, and rear them. But still their father could not be deprived of them all. "Communism stepped in at that point and took his part, for was he not as well entitled as they to share in the offspring?" [2] The humorous logic of this makes one suspect the learned Judge of allowing his legal acumen to make undue abstraction of the realities of Maori life. In any case adoption is no proof of communism. Of his flagrant misuse of the latter term we shall speak later; it is sufficient to quote his remarks here as illustrative of the point at issue. In short, as Best says, "True family life, as we know it, did not exist among the Maori."

The critical student, however, wonders whether all of the tale is told. It seems to the present writer that a deeper sociological analysis is needed to establish conclusions of such fundamental import.

Best has made a valuable contribution to Maori sociology in pointing out that the family among these natives does not rank on the same plane as that of the European, that neither in firmness of outline nor strength of sentiment is it identical with our own. Moreover, he has not stumbled into the snare which has caught so many theoreticians; he has not deduced the absence of family from the usage of the classificatory kinship terms, but has simply paralleled these terms with a set of conclusions founded on his observations of native life. Whether these observations adequately settle the point at issue is another question. In the first place, Best has remained content with emphasizing the purely negative side of the individual family, and has not brought out any series of data which would assist us in defining its positive character. For the little group of father, mother, and young children, however vaguely united, undoubtedly existed among

[1] Best, *The Maori as He Was*, 91.
[2] J. A. Wilson, *Sketches of Early Maori Life*, 31.

the Maori. No one could be found to maintain that the society rested upon group marriage and a communism of offspring. Even in Wilson's statements, his use of the term " communism " elsewhere is so loose that, taken in conjunction with the detail he gives, it is clear that such an expression cannot be taken literally. It would be an easy task to prove that communism of wives and children did not obtain in Maori society.

The remarks of Best on the status of the family, which are theoretical inferences rather than generalization from the facts, do not, however, allow us to form any adequate conception of the place of this group in the economic and social life. As already noted, he denies the existence of the individual family as a separate unit and lays all the stress on the *whanau*, the *Grossfamilie*. But this is insufficient for a proper demonstration of the principles of social organization. The nature of the ties between the various members of the family and the household must be studied, and the complex social relations between them made clear before any analysis of social grouping can be regarded as complete. In this case, as will be indicated, it is probable that such a sociological analysis will lead to a modification of his view.

Such facts as the nature of the sentiment between mother and child, between father and child, between brothers and sisters, and between husband and wife, should be specifically discussed, and compared with the corresponding sentiments between the child and its aunts, uncles, grandparents, and other members of the family group. Such emotional attitudes, of one kind or another, must exist and, as I shall presently show, do exist in every human association and are the veritable core of society. With these Best does not deal. But until it has been shown that the sentimental attachment between parent and child in Maori society can be equated with that existing between the child and its other relatives, the absorption of the true family into the family group can never be regarded as proven. Again, the whole problem of social relations and authority in the family group, of rights and duties between father and son, uncle and nephew, grandparent and grandson has almost escaped notice. Yet here again the definite demonstration of a lack of any peculiarly intimate relation between father and son is needed to establish finally the absence of the true family. In other words, denial of the individual family as a real social group can only be accepted on the basis of an exhaustive study of the facts of sentiment and

custom as expressed in the social behaviour of parent, child, and immediate relatives. It is the failure to realize the problem, and the corresponding neglect of intensive study of these intimate phases of home life, that give the anthropologist the right to question the sweeping statements made about the Maori family, even by so justly renowned an authority as Elsdon Best.

Moreover, sociological investigation in all parts of the world has shown the importance of the family in savage culture. Even in societies in which, according to the older anthropological view, it was believed to be absent, the little group of father, mother, and children has been shown to lie at the roots of cultural inheritance. Even in the classical home of the clan and of alleged group marriage, Australia, Dr. Malinowski has conclusively shown that the individual family has both form and function, that it is a definitely segregated unit, that it acts, indeed, as a fundamental basis of social organization.[1] In his general work on *The Psychology of Kinship* the same point is given a wider theoretical reference, and it is shown with abundance of proof that the individual family is the core of all life in society. Dr. Lowie, too, in his careful treatment of the subject concludes that, regardless of all other social arrangements, the individual family is omnipresent, and says trenchantly, "the one fact stands out beyond all others that everywhere the husband, wife, and immature children constitute a unit apart from the remainder of the community."[2] The common interest of the parents in one another and in the children, as well as their economic partnership, creates a unique social bond. And Dr. Goldenweiser, an acute critic, affirms also that the family exists everywhere as a distinct unit. "Truly organic, biological in its foundation, but with important psychological and sociological correlates, the family is seen to be an universal possession of mankind."[3] These opinions are most suggestive for our study of Maori sociology.

A detailed sociological inquiry into the facts of Maori family life is still lacking, and it is only as the result of empirical observation in the field with direct reference to this problem that the actual position of the individual family in native society can be properly gauged. It will be useful here, however, to point out some facts which bear on the point at issue; this will at the same time indicate a line of inquiry for future work.

[1] B. Malinowski, *Family Among Australian Aborigines, passim.*
[2] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 66–7.
[3] A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, 239.

Though it seems clear that the *whanau*, the extended family, bulked far more largely in social and economic affairs than the true family, the latter was not altogether negligible. Biologically speaking, human society is founded on the family of parents and children, a group which has its ultimate beginnings in the union of two individuals. And here we find among the Maori a strong attitude of sexual exclusiveness pertaining to marriage, and even a definite marriage ceremony, as Best himself has proved in a valuable paper.[1] It was individual, not group marriage ; adultery was strongly punished, and was not condoned, even if committed with the husband's brother. In sexual matters husband and wife were set apart, even from all the other members of the *whanau*. "*Possèder seul sans bruit une femme fidèle,*" as a sixteenth century sonnet has it, was the desire of every Maori man. Deep and lasting affection often existed between married people.[2] In this measure, at all events, the segregation of husband and wife indicates that in its germinal state the true family was not entirely absorbed in the group. In economic affairs, also, there was a definite partnership between married people. Each had certain work to do for their common benefit, and laziness or the failure of one to perform an adequate share was the subject of reproach from the other partner. In stories of olden days we hear of the grumbling of the wife at the failure of her husband to provide sufficient food, or of the husband at the neglect of the wife to prepare his meals or weave his garments. This was an affair between the two married people, and not a business of the *whanau*. It indicates at least a modicum of economic independence on the part of the true family.

The relations between parents and children point to the existence of a special sentiment which is not common to other members of the *whanau*. Wm. Brown, it is true, says that love of children was not a prominent trait of the Maori, and that " this is strikingly proved by the absence of all those little wiles and endearments which a fond mother lavishes on her offspring " (38). Also that it is more common to perceive attachments between them and their dogs and pigs than between members of a family, and that perhaps it would not be overstating their character to say that, as a people, they are totally devoid of

[1] " Maori Marriage Customs," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 1903.

[2] Cf. Dieffenbach, *Travels*, ii, 39, 107 ; and the moving narrative of W.B., *Where the White Man Treads*, 151–3.

natural affection ! (43). Such statements need not be treated very seriously especially in the face of ample authoritative evidence of a contrary kind.

In response to a query on my part, Mr. George Graham, who has an intimate knowledge of native life, writes in regard to *aroha tamariki* (affection for children), " The Maori parent has a deep affection for his children—that is to say especially for his own children—and in a general way for all the children of his relatives. In this respect I cannot say that Maori mentality is very different from the general European aspect of family life. There are the same features arising in Maori family groups, also—some children are favoured more than others, causing much the same jealousies as with European people."

Earle states that the natives were excessively fond of their children and that on a journey it was more common to see the father carrying the infant than the mother. All the little duties of a nurse were performed by him with the greatest of tender care and good humour.[1] Polack, too, speaks of the " endearing affection entertained by the parent for his children ".[2] Again, Best[3] says that natives do not like to see a child handled much by others than its parents—which surely implies the recognition of a certain intimate bond between them.

The special relationship of mother and child—both biological and social—was recognized by the Maori. Certain taboos had to be kept by the expectant mother ; thus in certain districts a pregnant woman was not allowed to have her hair cut, lest the growth of the unborn child be stunted.[4] The husband would see that such a *tapu* was not broken. Of the natives' own conception of the mother's love for her child we have an example given in an actual funeral lament reproduced in that work of real sympathetic knowledge, *Where the White Man Treads*, by Mr. W. Baucke.[5] A Maori woman is speaking to a son of the dead : " Orphan, my orphan, the bitter south wind blows (it was winter) ; who will shelter you now ? Who will look for your home-coming ? Who will ask when you are absent : where is he now ? Who will think of your comfort ? . . . Does she see us ? Does not all that remains of her yearn for us ? Does not all that lies there bring back to us all she was in the past ?—more now a mother than ever ;

[1] *Nine Months in New Zealand*, 257.
[2] *Manners and Customs*, ii, 153.
[3] Best, *Maori*, ii, 23.
[4] Best, ibid., 4.
[5] Better known to the public as W.B.

for now we can see it. Now she is gone we see things more clearly. We have angered her often, grieved her; flouted her wisdom; slighted her wishes; thought ourselves clever when we deceived her! But she hath recompensed all with the love of a mother. Think of it, orphan! The love of a mother!" [1] Such is the expression of feeling of the so-called "savage", formalized, may be, in the funeral dirge, but nevertheless instinct with the realization of the true depths of maternal affection. In songs, similar sentiments are expressed, while the Maori ever remembers the old proverb "*He aroha whaereere, he potiki piri poho*" (A mother's love, a breast-clinging child).[2]

Between father and child, also, a special sentiment seems to have been usual. From its earliest years the man took an interest in the little one. Even before its birth he was compelled to become aware of its existence; his was the task of procuring any desired food for the pregnant woman.[3] At the lying-in he was the privileged person, besides priest and attendants, who was allowed to enter the house.[4] Afterwards, if of high rank, he with mother and child took part in the *tohi* ceremony of baptism [5]; he carried the baby around, nursed it,[6] cleansed it, had it beside him on a mat while he worked. If the child were a boy the father was responsible for most of its education [7]; later he took his son with him on fowling and fishing trips, taught him the use of tools and weapons,[8] and the knowledge of boundaries and tribal history.[9] And when in the after years his time came to die, it was to his sons and daughters that he apportioned his goods, and left his knowledge and *mana*.[10]

This could be backed by more ample concrete documentation if necessary. It is true that the *whanau* played a very large part in the social life of the child; that the functions mentioned above might be also performed in some cases by the uncle or the grandparents. But the father was the person chiefly responsible for the child's upbringing.

The little group of parents and children seems to have acted on occasion as a distinct economic unit, occupying a separate hut in the village or camping together in the forest or by the sea. Says a native, "a person at Kaikohe takes his fishing tackle under

[1] W.B., op. cit., 35.
[2] Best, *Maori*, ii, 27.
[3] Ibid., *J.R.A.I.*, xxxii, 130.
[4] Ibid., 134.
[5] Ibid., 147–55.
[6] J. Cowan, *Maoris of New Zealand*, 146.
[7] W. Brown, 39; Best, *Maori*, i, 411.
[8] Best, *Maori*, ii, 81.
[9] Best, "Maori Marriage," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 1903, 30; *Maori*, i, 394–5.
[10] "Maori Marriage," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 34.

his arm, and says to his wife, ' Take the children and let us go to the river.' There he builds his temporary hut . . ." and so on.[1]

Nor is the use of the classificatory system of naming relatives a proof of the non-existence of the individual family. Professor A. Radcliffe-Brown has shown in the case of the Kariera natives of Australia, that the duties of a person to a whole group of relatives whom he calls by a certain term may be the same, but the intensity of the obligation grows much greater as he approaches his immediate kin.[2] And Dr. Malinowski has proved in his Trobriand evidence that though a person uses the same term to refer to mother, to maternal aunt, and to distant female relative, the nature and strength of the sentimental attitude varies immensely in each case.[3] Classificatory kinship terms cannot be accepted at their linguistic face value, as evidence for the absence of real family sentiment or of the individual family itself.

In the foregoing pages it has only been possible to give a bare outline of the facts which suggest the existence of the individual family among the Maori as a separate social unit. But from this one can perceive the type of sociological inquiry that is necessary to define the precise position of the family in native life. To sum up—the sexual exclusiveness of husband and wife, and their economic interdependence, the conduct of the man in the events surrounding the birth of his offspring, the display of parental affection, the care taken by father and mother in the upbringing of the child, the separate economic status and independent mobility occasionally assumed by the little group, and the rules of succession and inheritance all point to the existence of the individual family as a social unit not wholly absorbed in the larger group.[4] In any event, further analysis of emotional

[1] *Church Missionary Record*, 1841, 272. For other instances of separate economic existence on the part of the family v. J. Cook, *Voyage to South Pole*, i, 75; *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, 1784, i, 156. J. Savage, *Some Account of New Zealand*, 1807, 7.

[2] A. R. Brown, " Three Tribes of Western Australia," *J.R.A.I.*, xliii, 1913, 150, 159.

[3] B. Malinowski, *The Psychology of Kinship*. The small amount of discussion I myself have had with Maori natives on this question of distinction between father and uncle (both termed *papa*) or between brother and male cousin (*tuakana* = elder, *teina* = younger of same sex, *tungane* = brother or cousin of woman) has led me to a similar conclusion. The distinction between the two persons, as e.g. brother and cousin, was clear; a different psychological attitude obtained and received expression in behaviour, though the same term was used in speaking of either.

[4] The statement of Mauss that " Une fois de plus, il est ainsi bien démontré qu'il y a eu des sociétés considérables, toutes les sociétés polynésiennes, où ni en droit, ni en fait, ni en idée, il n'ya eu une conception de la famille au sens moderne du mot—père, mère, femme (*sic*) et enfants " (*L'Année Sociologique*, vii, 1902–3, 419) thus receives no confirmation from our inquiry.

attitudes, rights, and obligations between the persons involved is needed as a basis for any empirical generalization.

Economic Aspect of Marriage

Allied to the question of the family, a most important set of economic problems is introduced by the institution of marriage. This involved not only the union of two individuals in lifelong partnership—though separation and divorce obtained among the Maori—but also the creation of a new set of social ties between two groups of people. In one respect, the actual forging of these ties had a specifically economic character, since it necessitated the consumption of large quantities of food, and the transfer of valuable goods from one group to another.[1] The married pair also had certain economic duties towards each other, represented, in major part, by the obligation of the husband to procure food and of the wife to prepare it. The man had also the duty of providing protection for the household, and of making implements, etc., while the woman had to manufacture mats and garments, tend the crops, and look after the dwelling. In regard to the reception of guests, the wife made the arrangements for inviting and entertaining them, while the welcoming and speech-making was the duty of the husband. When a woman of rank married outside her own *hapu*, she held *mana marae* in her new home, that is, the authority to dispense hospitality to travellers on her own initiative. She would be endowed with these privileges by her husband on being installed in the house.[2]

The institution of marriage thus involved a number of economic obligations—the giving of feasts and presents on the part of the kinsmen of the pair, the assumption of responsibilities in regard to the household and the spouse, and the duties of hospitality. On the birth of children further obligations were also incurred.

The economic situation varied according to whether the marriage was patrilocal or matrilocal, monogamous or polygynous. Usually the wife went to dwell with the husband's people, and

[1] Richard Taylor, who is apt to be regarded as an unimpeachable authority by theorists abroad, states that the Maori, differing from almost any other known tribe, had no marriage ceremony, no *karakia* (spells) nor rite to mark the event (*New Zealand*, 162); cf. also Wm. Brown, op. cit., 33 to the same effect. As Best has amply shown ("Maori Marriage Customs," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 1903, and elsewhere) this is quite incorrect.

[2] Best, "Maori Marriage Customs," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 64.

natives say that such is the correct thing to do. Instances sometimes occurred, however, where the marriage was matrilocal, the man residing with his wife's kinsfolk.[1] In such a case he would cultivate lands there, but could have no rights of ownership therein, not being a member of the *hapu* (cf. Chapter X). His children, however, would inherit in those lands through their mother. They would also have rights in the land of their father's group, though their descendants would lose this interest if many generations elapsed without their visiting the father's people; as already mentioned, their claim would have become *mataotao* (cold).[2] If the marriage were childless and the wife died, the man, having no interest in that village, would probably return to his own people.

An interesting example of the combined interaction of political, social, and economic elements in marriage is shown by Mr. Geo. Graham in the case of a girl named Rangi-hua-moa. She was so named by her mother at the request of a relative, the influential chief Takaanini. Such was the Maori custom; that naming gave the right to guardianship in marriage of the child, and the girl ultimately was married to a younger relative of Takaanini when she came of age. By this means inter-group relations were cemented and marriages with alien tribespeople discouraged; at the same time lands and heirlooms were kept within the tribe and its membership was not depleted.[3]

These remarks on the economic aspect of marriage may be supplemented by some interesting notes sent me by Mr. Geo. Graham on the subject of adoption. This was a very prevalent custom among the Maori, but such adoption was always limited to members of related groups, and never took place in the case of people between whom relationship was non-existent, or only problematical in ancient times. The object appears to be to retain the memory of family relationships severed by distance or from some other cause. "It does not come about by the mere love for children as such," says Mr. Graham, "for no adoption in Maori custom exists, that I know of, other than by people related, and for the express purpose of perpetuating

[1] The inclusion of the Maori on page 152 of the *Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, by Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg, as being definitely matrilocal and matrilineal is not correct. Patrilocal marriage was much more common, and, by preference, descent was traced through the male line. Erroneous also is Ratzel's statement (*History of Mankind*, i, 278) that the Maori *hapu* inherits by mother-right alone.

[2] Cf. J. F. D. Fenton, *Judgments*, 146. Best, *Maori*, i, 344.

[3] Geo. Graham, *J.P.S.*, xxviii, 1918, 107.

the memory of such relationships." As an example:—"Te Pataka Te Hapi lived at Hauraki. He was of Taranaki; his grandson Wananga was adopted by Hangi, a cousin of Hapi, who came from Taranaki and took the lad away when three years old. Wananga had been so named before his birth, the name being that of Hangi's father. Hence Hangi had acquired a pre-emptive right to the child, and came to get him in due course. The mother parted with her three-year-old son, not without tears, but quite philosophically.

"The object of such adoption was undoubtedly to retain close tribal connexion for war, and land inheritance. For Hapi, living in Hauraki with a Hauraki woman, had lost his *mana* or *ahi ka* (literally, 'burning fire') to land at Taranaki. But his grandson Wananga, as an adopted son of Hangi, would be entitled to succeed to such interests, and thus in his person would revive the *ahi ka* of his grandsire Hapi."

Again, girls were asked for and bestowed as adopted children upon relatives at distant places. This did not necessarily mean the actual taking away of the child; the fact of its being named after the future adoptive parent was sufficient for the time being. When such girls became near the marriageable age, then they were sent for, went away to their future home, and were married to some relative in that place. By this means they helped to keep alive the family relationship and to maintain a community of interest down the ages between tribes originally sprung from the one stock. The children of all such adoptions (girls or boys) lose their land rights among their own parents' people.

Parents do not seem to fret unduly over thus losing their children, and even the affection of the mother for her child appears to be soon dissipated, aided by the acquiescence in tribal custom. When such children meet their parents again in after years, there does not appear to be any especial ebullition of affection. They merely greet one another, cry ceremonially, exchange a few remarks or utter a short speech, and all is normal. They part again without any demonstration. Parents, brothers, and sisters are then regarded much in the light of uncles, aunts, and cousins; the original affections seem to be dulled and subordinated by the acceptance of tribal custom. Mr. Graham gives an illustration of this latter point which indicates also certain facts of economic interest.

"Te Tatu, whose parents belonged to Ohinemutu, was so named before birth, being asked for by his aunt who lived at Motiti. When he was three months old she came and took him. He is now eighteen years of age. On coming to Rotorua he stops for a few days with his sister, now married. They had not seen each other for that period of eighteen years—they met quite casually and parted so. Te Tatu's parent is dead; the sister inherits the family lands. Te Tatu loses all his rights, and must look to his foster-parents of Motiti for land benefits. Although he is the eldest son and surviving male descendant of important chieftains his sister's son is now the heir male, *ariki*, of Ngati-Tunohopu, for Te Tatu's *ahi ka* at Rotorua is dead. If he has a son who comes to Rotorua to live, the *ahi ka* may thereby be revived."

These notes and examples illustrate the way in which both marriage and adoption may be used, on occasions, in customary form, to serve some economic or social end. Adoption, in particular, has been shown to be not a mere haphazard custom due to a whimsical fancy or to a communistic spirit, but to a definitely regulated aim such as the strengthening of the ties of related groups, or the regaining of neglected land interests. And this institution, especially in the case of female children, is linked with marriage.

These remarks on the lack of any great demonstration of grief when a child parts from its mother and father on adoption seem to conflict with former statements regarding the strength of parental affection and the status of the family. This is to some extent true. Yet they probably indicate not so much an absence of affection as a suppression of it in accordance with tribal custom. Again, the occurrence of adoption—as in our own society—in no way implied a negation of family ties. In fact, the withdrawal of the child from contact with its own people, and the complete severance of all bonds such as rights to land, is in itself an affirmation of corporate family existence, of the need for the entire absorption of the child into its new circle of relationships.

Incidental reference has already been made to the rules of succession and inheritance, and a few words may now be said about them in respect to marriage; a fuller discussion of the whole topic must be reserved till a later stage. In general, property as well as rank descended in the true family line, and

could be inherited through either parent. Goods, fishing rights, etc., were apportioned at death among all the children, whether of a polygynous marriage or not, the eldest son as a rule obtaining the largest share. Prized heirlooms tended to revert to the elder line of a family. With the fact that property, including land rights, could be inherited through mother as well as father must be correlated to some extent the custom whereby not only the parents of a girl, but also her relatives in the *hapu*, especially her brothers, had to give their consent to her marriage before it could be considered valid. In the event of marriage and residence with a man of a stranger tribe her children would inherit interests in the ancestral lands, and such were often the cause of trouble. Her brothers and immediate male relatives, then, whose interests, together with those of their children, might be prejudiced thereby, had to give the contract their approval.

Mr. Graham writes a memorandum to me on this point: "Sisters defer to their brothers rather than to their parents; the latter will consult their sons on matters of family policy affecting the daughter. If a girl not otherwise betrothed is asked for in marriage, it is for the brothers to decide, not the parents—but nowadays the girls assert their own authority as a rule.

"If a girl is already betrothed and the people to whom she has been so promised come to get her, the brothers may at the last moment veto the affair, *if they have sufficient reason*, from a Maori point of view. For instance, Kahupeku of Ngati-Puku of Hauraki was the pre-natal namesake of the mother of Ngakapa, of Ngati-Whanaunga. When she was about 18 years old Ngakapa came to get her to give her in marriage to his nephew. Kahu's brother Tu vetoed this, because when some years before he had visited Ngati-Whanaunga, he was refused the hand of Ngakapa's niece, though there was no apparent bar to the marriage. This he considered an act of *whakaheke tupu* (depreciation of his status), so he exercised his rights of veto in this case.

"Again about 1902, Te Huinga went from Rotorua to collect the delicious mussels of Waikawau (Thames foreshore). The local Ngati-Tamatera denied her rights to do so, despite her close relationship. So she returned to Rotorua offended. This was a case of resentment of interference with tribal territory.

So when Te Huinga's niece Rongo was asked for in marriage by Te Moananui, 18 or 20 years after, and all was apparently well, Te Huinga got up in the tribal meeting-house 'Tiki', and sang a song conveying the objection she had to the union. This song (*tau*) was then vigorously discussed, her objection was upheld by the people, and the contemplated marriage fell through."

These interesting remarks by Mr. Graham indicate how the proposed creation of new group ties by marriage was recognized as giving the relatives of a person a voice in the decision as to the contract. Moreover, motives other than purely utilitarian might affect the verdict. The custom of inheritance through the mother line, in addition to that through the father, introduced an important economic complication into the institution of marriage. This, taken in conjunction with the factors of kinship sentiment, explains the favour accorded to marriage within the *hapu* or tribe.

Among men of low rank monogamous marriage was the rule, but chiefs were accustomed to have a plurality of wives.[1] Briefly, this resulted from infant betrothals and later incompatibility, the custom of the levirate or marriage of a deceased brother's wife, and the keen desire for offspring, coupled with the belief that barrenness proceeded solely from the female. Slave girls were often taken as concubines or secondary wives, while a man sometimes married two sisters. In polygynous marriages there was a chief wife, often married for political reasons, a woman of a rank comparable to that of her husband. She would rule the domestic side of the household, superintend the work, and guard the virtue of the younger wives. In some cases a man would have separate establishments, especially where his wives disagreed, and would live with each in turn.

The economic side of polygyny among the Maori is of importance. Like many other native customs, this practice

[1] J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative*, i, 292; J. S. Polack, *New Zealand*, i, 376; R. Cruise, *Ten Months*, 292; Wm. Brown, *N.Z.*, 34–5; A. S. Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, i, 199; R. Taylor, *Ika*, 337–8; W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 19; J. Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand*, 209; E. Best, *Maori*, i, 448–9; ibid., *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 29–30, 63. It may be thought that polygyny must have been very rare, owing to relative equality in the birth-rate of the sexes, and to the fact that no great difficulty seems to have been experienced by any man of low rank in obtaining a wife. On the question of a possible differential birth-rate one cannot speak, but the killing of the males in warfare, and the more frequent enslaving of the women, tended to give a surplus of the latter in a community. It was this custom which provided slave-wives, and largely accounted for the polygyny of the chiefs. And plurality of wives was largely restricted to these men. Some acute and novel observations on polygyny and sex-ratio are given by Capt. G. Pitt-Rivers, *Clash of Culture*, Ch. viii.

was strongly reprobated by the early missionaries,[1] as an offence against morality, both human and Divine. There is no doubt, however, that its evils were grossly overrated, and that, even aside from the fact that it was an integral part of native custom which should not have been lightly disturbed, it performed several valuable functions. An advantage of the custom in sex relations and pregnancy is mentioned by Hare Hongi.[2] Again, the dignity of a man was held to be enhanced by a plurality of wives. The social importance of polygyny lay in the fact that it buttressed the position and authority of the chief, both directly, by giving him prestige, and indirectly, by providing him with an amount of economic resources which could be disbursed to secure the services and allegiance of his people. Thus when a chief man had several wives, some of them, being of rank, brought him a kind of dower in the form of lands and slaves, which, though they were not his property, could be employed to his advantage. In such case the wives often resided on their own lands, and cultivated them, while the husband spent his time now with one, now with another.[3] When the wives had no separate lands, but all lived together in the one household, as was common, they and their slaves performed a great part of the work of cultivation. Thus Nicholas[4] was of the opinion that the chiefs took their secondary wives for manual work rather than for their charms; "they may be considered in no other light than as hard-working servants." Marsden[5] obtained the views of a number of chiefs upon the question. One man of a cynical turn of mind said that it was better to have only one wife, as when there were more the women always quarrelled. Others, however, agreed that their wives made the best overseers of the plantations, and that they could not get their grounds cultivated but for the industry of a number of these women. Most other writers, too, stress this aspect of the question. Colenso also gives another economic reason for the taking of an extra wife. As already mentioned, the flax garments of superior type with *taniko* borders were greatly prized and required expert knowledge for their manufacture. Principal chiefs frequently took as supplementary wives women who were

[1] Cf. W. Yate, *New Zealand*, 97–9, 241–2. Colenso, however, did not altogether share this prevailing opinion.
[2] Hare Hongi, *Maori-English Tutor*, 190–2.
[3] E. Shortland, *Trad. and Superst.*, 141.
[4] J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative*, i, 293.
[5] S. Marsden, *Missionary Register*, 1816, 513.

clever at making these garments, in order that they might secure to themselves their valued manufactures.

The opinion of the women is of interest, as throwing light upon the economic situation. In the conversations with Marsden, the missionary, they quite properly stood forth as the champions of monogamy; John White, again, relates how the first wife of Tamati Waka Nene slew a second arrival with a tomahawk, and threatened to do the same for any other whom the chief might introduce; jealousy and quarrels were by no means absent. Wm. Brown, the anti-sentimentalist, is of a contrary opinion: he naïvely says that the wives make no objection to the coming of their rivals, "not because they cannot prevent it, but because they are destitute of the feelings which characterize the females of other countries"![1] But on the whole there does not seem to have been any great objection to polygyny among the women themselves, especially as the taking of an extra wife tended to lighten the labour in the cultivations. On occasions, indeed, it seems to have been actually demanded for this reason. It must again be emphasized, however, that polygyny was a custom practised almost solely by chiefs.

The manner in which the institution of polygyny was bound up with the Maori scheme of social and economic organization will be patent from the facts given above. In short, the social organization involved the maintenance of the prestige and influence of chiefs. This implied liberality in the matter of gifts, especially food, in return for services and as entertainment, which in its turn necessitated an exceptional quantity of labour power at the chief's command to obtain the required supplies. Tribute was not in vogue to any extent among the Maori people, hence the institution of polygyny—assisted also by that of slavery—served to fulfil an important function.

Wealth and the Power of the Chief

From this discussion of polygyny it is plain that the possession of wealth was important to the status of a Maori chief. This point may now be more explicitly developed, especially as it has hitherto received scant attention from most writers on the Maori. The rank of a chief, his prestige and authority were primarily due to his position by descent. He could trace his

[1] Wm. Brown, *New Zealand*, 35.

ancestry back through a long line of noted forbears, comprising people of seniority and influence. Great regard was given by the natives to primogeniture, and the most prized genealogy of all was the *aho ariki*, the consistent line of descent through first-born sons. The followers of a chief were his relatives, descended from the same ancestors through junior branches. The chief was the "man of many cousins", and the more influential his connexion, and the more numerous the famous people from whom he could trace his descent, the higher his rank.

But birth alone did not suffice for chieftainship. Personality and executive capacity were also required to maintain rank and authority. An incapable *ariki*, as we already know, would be set aside in practical affairs, and only called upon to perform certain religious rites.

But to maintain his position the chief needed one thing more—wealth. Every man of rank had to be prepared to grant frequent hospitality to travellers, relatives, and visitors of note. A reputation for liberality was greatly sought after, and, conversely, a name for meanness and parsimony was a social stigma of the worst kind. The honour of a Maori chief was bound up with his ability to entertain lavishly when necessary. Many were the shifts resorted to in order to preserve one's reputation when some unforeseen contingency had reduced the supply of food available for guests. Even when the provision of ample food was impossible, through no fault of the host, great shame was felt, and the imputation of poverty was a severe blow to the pride of a chief. To illustrate these points: when the cultivations of Pehi Turoa, the great chief of Whanganui, were destroyed by the *pukeko* (swamp-hen) and *awheto* (caterpillar), he composed a song expressive of his shame and grief that on the arrival of guests he should have nothing to give them to eat and announced his intention of fleeing away to hide in his remote settlements.[1] Again, in the story of the well-known ancestor Paoa, it is related that on one occasion his supplies were all exhausted, and he was visited by a large party of his relatives-in-law. His shame was great; "he could not open his mouth to say a word, he felt so disgraced at not having any food to set before his guests." And that very night he left his village and departed far away to seek a new home.[2] That the mere

[1] T. W. Downes, *J.P.S.*, xiv, 147. [2] G. Grey, *J.E.S.*, i, 1869, 338–9.

lack of food for guests, irrespective of cause, would be shameful to a chief is shown in a curious incident. It is recorded how the brother-in-law of Tu-tamure travelled with a large party to Whakatane with the deliberate and pious intention of eating that chief " out of house and home " in order to shame him and his wife. The reason was that the latter had boasted of the food supplies of that place. They were unsuccessful in their object, however, though they stayed as long as the rules of courtesy would allow. Thus the *mana* of Tu-tamure remained high.[1]

The prestige of a chief was bound up with his free use of wealth, particularly food. This in turn tended to secure for him a larger revenue from which to display his hospitality, since his followers and relatives brought him choice gifts. Thus in the story of Paoa afore-mentioned, it is told how the real greatness of a young chieftainess Tukutuku was shown by her courtesy and generosity to all her dependents. This moved their hearts, and they brought to her as presents large quantities of food, such as dried shell-fish and other delicacies, in order that she could show great hospitality to visitors.[2] Such gifts were made from a complexity of motive, partly in expectation of a return present, partly in recognition of the high rank and noble qualities of the chief, partly to propitiate his favour, and also because the reputation of the people as a whole mounted *pari passu* with the free exercise of hospitality by their leader.

Apart from lavish entertainment of strangers and visitors, the chief also disbursed wealth freely as presents among his own followers. By this means their allegiance was secured and he repaid them for the gifts and personal services rendered to him. All payment among the Maori was made in the form of gifts. There was thus a continual reciprocity between chief and people.

The chief also acted as a kind of capitalist, assuming the initiative in the construction of certain " public works " if the term may be so used. It was by his accumulation and possession of wealth, and his subsequent lavish distribution of it, that such a man was able to give the spur to these important tribal enterprises. Such efforts also redounded to his credit

[1] T. W. Downes, *J.P.S.*, xxiii, 120.
[2] G. Grey, loc. cit., 341.

among the people. He was a kind of channel through which wealth flowed, concentrating it only to pour it out freely again.[1]

It must be noted, however, that the Maori chieftainship by no means represented a plutocracy. There were no very rich men in the community; no towering cliff of property cut off chiefs from ordinary men. The fixed wealth of a man of rank was not immensely in excess of that of an ordinary tribesman; the difference lay in the larger quantities which kept continually passing through his hands. Part of his income was received as presents from his people and from visitors, but the larger share was provided by the labour of himself, his wives, slaves, and immediate attendants. The value of labour power to a chief thus explains the real importance in native life of the institutions of slavery and polygyny, which were exercised mainly in favour of the chiefs, and which, by giving them a command of wealth, definitely served to maintain their reputation for generosity and so to buttress their power and authority.

Correlated with his other functions was the habit and duty of a head chief to act as trustee and administrator of tribal property. He was the guardian of treasured ancestral heirlooms, which, though they were often spoken of as belonging to him, were really held by him in trust for the people. He was also spokesman for his kinsfolk in regard to the tribal land. Even when he appeared to settle its disposal personally, he did so only in virtue of the tacit consent of his tribe. The degree to which the promises of a chief were regarded as binding by his people and his acts ratified depended upon his status by birth, his personal magnetism, and the amount of trust they had in him. In this respect, as with hospitality, the chief had onerous duties to perform; the exercise of his privileges carried with it a heavy responsibility.

This correlation of wealth with social standing is an important feature of Maori society. As a generous host, as the *entrepreneur* in weighty economic affairs, as the distributor of goods to his dependents, and as the trustee of tribal property, the chief found the handling of wealth linked up with his rank and social status.

[1] A fuller discussion of the chief's economic relation to his people is given in the chapters on the distribution of wealth and the native feast.

Such an interdependence of economic and social supremacy would probably be revealed in most primitive cultures.[1]

The Individual and the Group in Maori Society

Our analysis of the types of grouping and economic functions of the chief in Maori society may well be rounded off by a consideration of certain theoretical aspects of the relation of the individual native to the group of which he was a member. Some knowledge of this problem is essential to a correct understanding of the nature of social motives and behaviour. At present the facts are somewhat obscured by the lack of adequate theoretical appreciation, as well as by the absence of close study in the field. We must turn again to Best, as the only writer who has formulated the problem at all clearly.

Akin to his conception of the true family as being absorbed in the *whanau*, is his idea of the individual as being absorbed in the group. Thus "A man thought and acted in terms of family group, clan or tribe, according to the nature or gravity of the subject and not of the individual himself".[2] "In Maori society the individual could scarcely be termed a social unit, he was lost in the *whanau* or family group."[3] And to give further point to these statements he says, "Such offences as adultery were generally punished by a *muru* raid, the unjust part of such proceedings, from our point of view, being the fact that innocent and guilty alike suffered in many cases. It is almost impossible for us to conceive or to bear in mind the point of view of such peoples. To them the individual is as nothing—he does not exist, as it were, as an individual, but only as a part of the group or clan."[4] This reads like the discovery of a Maori prototype of the extreme Durkheimian savage!

In his examination of the principles of Maori social organization Best has clearly recognized two allied factors of importance—the effect of the strongly felt bond of kinship in uniting the

[1] Professor B. Malinowski has already demonstrated the importance of this correlation in the case of the Trobriand Islanders (*Economic Journal*, March, 1921, 8–13), *Argonauts*, 1922, 63–6. I gather from Mr. I. Schapera that the same is true of the Bantu natives of South-East Africa; v. his "Economic Functions of the Chief", a paper in preparation. For some general data bearing on this point combined with an excellent sociological analysis v. M. Mauss, "Essai sur le Don", *L'Année Sociologique*, N.S. i, 1923–4; cf. also Warnotte, *Les Origines Sociologiques de l'Obligation contractuelle*, 1927.

[2] E. Best, *Maori*, i, 342.

[3] E. Best, *Maori*, i, 341.

[4] E. Best, *Maori as He Was*, 87.

members of the group, and the influence of the group in determining the behaviour of the individuals comprising it. And his exposition of this point of view has been of value to the student, in affording him some measure of insight into the nature of the vital ties in Maori social life. Thus he says, " the pride of family and tribal pride that were so characteristic of the Maori assuredly had a good effect in some ways. Such feelings made for loyalty to *whanau*, clan and tribe, for a sense of responsibility and duty to the community."[1] This moderately phrased statement calls attention to a factor of great importance for social integration. But the sociological analysis has not gone deeper. This idea of the solidarity of the group, pushed to an extreme, has led Best to minimize the rôle of the individual in social life and to offer a meaningless paradox in the guise of an empirical generalization. To say, as quoted above, that the individual cannot be called a social unit is to utter a statement without meaning, unless the term " social unit " be carefully defined—and this Best has not attempted.

With the theory of the negation of the individual in society there is no need to deal here ; criticism of an adequate kind has been made by a number of writers, to mention only Maciver and Ginsberg. Moreover, Best's sane outlook and intimate knowledge of native life has not allowed this theoretical pre-conception to obtrude itself greatly into his field-work. The idea of the thought and conduct of the individual Maori as being purely a product of his feeling for the group is inconsistent with his other and more well-founded observations. To lay bare this inconsistency, and the inadequacy of the " group conformity " theory is not without interest, as some indication is thereby given of the real position of affairs in Maori society.

After stressing the fact that the individual, as such, did not exist, but was simply a part of the group or the clan, that all individual action was simply a reflex of the interests of the group, Best tells us that " the Maori was given to independence and democratic usages " ; that in public meetings the chief would propose a certain line of action and the people would discuss it. " Some might approve of it and follow him, while others might refuse to do so, in which case he had no power to coerce them." [2] Does this sound like the complete absorption of the individual, and unconditional group obedience ? And if " the welfare of

[1] E. Best, *Maori*, i, 353.

[2] E. Best, *Maori as He Was*, 90.

the tribe was ever uppermost in his mind",[1] why do we find among the Maori refusal to co-operate in tribal affairs, crime, and the institution of *muru*—"an extraordinary custom, the plundering of those who had committed some offence against the community"?[2] And apart from this "disciplinary measure" how came witchcraft, the influence of respected chiefs and the stringent rules of *tapu* to be required to control the actions of individuals, when everyone is supposed to conform automatically to the best interests of the society? We are correctly told that "the pride that a chief took in his own *mana* had one unpleasing effect, it was liable to make him an exceedingly 'touchy' person. He was quick to resent any act that he deemed a *takahi mana*, a disregarding or belittling of his prestige. Such acts have been the cause of innumerable quarrels and much fighting."[3] This remark as to the personal pride of the native is instructive. But one finds a difficulty in squaring this idea of a people completely deprived of individual consciousness with war-like action taken as the result of personal pique, and often involving serious loss of life among the chief's own kinsmen. It can hardly be described as the outcome of an all-embracing care for the interests of the group.

A last example may be given to show that Best's theoretical pronouncements on this point are not a real logical inference from the facts of Maori custom. Should a man meet with an accident and be incapacitated, he was liable to the plundering of his goods by his relatives as a result. "Their point of view is as follows—that man is not an independent unit, the individual does not exist, he is part of a tribe, and he has injured the tribe by being laid up and so rendering himself incapable of working or fighting—clearly he should be punished."[4] The first part of this theoretical generalization is plainly inconsistent with the rest. The latter is the true Maori attitude. For it is only in so far as *the individual exists, as an independent unit, from the native point of view*, that he can be punished by the confiscation of his *personal property*.

It may be objected that these statements quoted are mere hyperbole, and do not invalidate the general point of view. But the answer is patent. A comprehensive theoretical inference marks the expression of a definite attitude towards the facts of

[1] Ibid., *Maori*, i, 342.
[2] Ibid., *Maori as He Was*, 87.
[3] Ibid., *Maori*, i, 389.
[4] E. Best, *Maori*, i, 360.

native sociology, it colours the study of other aspects of the subject, it reacts upon the methods of field-work. If not formed with due regard to the data concerned it tends to obscure the problem. In the present instance the merely verbal generalization that the native thought and acted always in terms of his family or tribal group has tended to stifle any further inquiry into the relations of the members to the group and to one another; to veil the divergencies of behaviour, conflicting interests, personal ambitions, bickerings, misappropriations and acts of downright opposition to group policy. It is the correct evaluation of these which gives the tang of real life to a sociological work. It is admitted that the individual can never be studied in entire isolation from the society; this does not entitle one to embrace the extreme position of ascribing all individual action to the dictates of group interest. Such facts as the rivalry between persons in work, the insistence on *utu* or an equivalent for gifts and services, quarrels over land and property rights of a personal kind, theft of valuables, gluttonous consumption of food, idleness and the like indicate a definite sphere of action determined primarily by individual interests. Nor was evasion of communal obligations unknown. Such facts must be borne in mind when considering the generalizations of Wilson, Best, Cowan, and other writers concerning Maori "Communism" (see Chap. X). For the reasons given above, then, it is important to make clear the value of a correct theoretical approach to the problems of Maori social and economic life.

The aim in this chapter has been mainly to lay bare the principles of Maori social structure in a manner which will form a fitting prelude to the study of economic organization. It will be useful now for a short space to pick up the main threads of the argument, and to show the more definite economic bearing of the facts adduced. First of all, the economic functions of the various types of social grouping may be reviewed.

To begin with local grouping—the Maori dwelt in villages, each of which was the centre of the economic life of the people of the surrounding district. Among the most important foci, or rallying points, for the activities of the community were the *marae*, or public square, and the *whare whakairo*, the carved meeting-house, each a centre of "intensive sociality". The former was the stage for important socio-economic events, the latter an object of tribal sentiment and a valued possession,

embodying the finest results of artistic taste and technical skill. It was produced, too, by a complex form of organization of labour, involving preliminary accumulation of wealth, careful integration of work, and a lavish system of apportionment of goods. Each village was composed of households, which functioned as economic units.

In respect of kinship grouping, in general, the persons in a household comprised the members of a *whanau*, a group of people closely related by descent from some person three or four generations distant from the youngest member. Such a family group was the basic unit of the Maori economy. The individual family certainly existed, and appears to have constituted at times a separate economic group. Its importance has been somewhat underestimated by writers on Maori sociology, owing to the prominence of the *whanau*; the latter certainly assumed wider social functions. In the economic sphere the special importance of the individual family lay in the reciprocal obligations of husband and wife in respect of food, clothing, domestic duties, and care of the children; the new set of ties created between two kinship groups now allied by marriage; and the rules of succession and inheritance, the one concerned with rank and its accompanying privileges of wealth, the other with the distribution of property. The *whanau* held group-ownership of certain types of property, and also as a body exercised rights to land and its products. Tasks requiring a small body of workers and co-operation of a not very complex order were performed by the *whanau*, and the apportionment of food was largely managed on this basis. Each family group was a cohesive, self-contained unit, managing its own affairs, both social and economic, except as these affected village or tribal policy. Members of a *whanau*, on the whole, worked, ate, and dwelt together in a distinct group.

The more inclusive kinship group, the *hapu*, was correlated with the major village activities. More important species of property, such as a war-canoe, a meeting-house, a large eel-weir, were regarded as the property of the whole *hapu* and were used by the members as a body. All the land surrounding the village, incorporating, of course, the rights of individuals and of *whanau*, was under the ownership of this group,[1] while important tasks involving considerable labour power saw a muster of all its

[1] For details see Chapter XI on *Land*.

members. At large tribal feasts, too, and on similar occasions of ceremony the *hapu* functioned as a united body.

The economic functions of the tribe (*iwi*) were confined almost solely to participation in huge feasts and to an all-embracing over-right to the land within its borders; the latter was made manifest in the rallying of *hapu* to defend the tribal land at any point invaded. The *waka* was a loose political aggregation of tribes, and had no economic function.

It is plain that in Maori society the economic structure is to a large extent coincident with the kinship grouping; there are, for instance, no economic associations of any importance which are not based upon it. This is to be expected, once the fundamental value attached by natives to the kinship tie is realized.

The interrelation between the economic and other aspects of social life has been shown in the examination of various institutions. The rank and position of the chief, determined primarily by his eminence of birth, was buttressed by his accumulation and distribution of wealth. This in turn depended to quite a large extent upon his plurality of wives. There is then a definite correlation between rank, wealth, and polygyny, each of which reacts upon and supports the others.[1] Marriage, also, had its definite economic aspect, both in regard to the relations of husband and wife, and the wider circle of their kin. The inquiry might have been extended to some of the more spectacular institutions, such as the *hakari* (feast), the custom of *muru* (compensation by plunder), and the gift-exchange; it could be shown how each is connected with social structure, with kinship ties, and ideas of communal solidarity, besides displaying an economic side as well. But as these will be considered in later chapters there is no need to elaborate this aspect here.

The dominant note of this chapter may be formulated as a general proposition that the economic organization of any community is very closely bound up with the social structure in such manner that each serves to reinforce the other. It is a very sober principle, but one which has not yet wholly found

[1] The general advantages of wealth allied to polygyny in tending to create and maintain social divisions have been discussed by Gunnar Landtmann (*Primary Causes of Social Inequality*, 81–5). The relation shown to exist in Maori society gives some corroboration to his thesis.

its way into the economic organon, and which it is essential to realize both for theoretical analysis and descriptive method.

To pursue a step further the theoretical implication of the conclusions reached in this chapter, it would seem that they have some bearing upon the argument of E. Grosse with regard to the family and the form of productive economy. He is of the opinion that in all cultures the constitution of the family is adapted to economic needs and conditions, and that the group organization of society is in a large degree determined by the state of its productive technique, and so of its economic structure. The set of conclusions brought out by the present analysis, though not directly in alignment with Grosse's theory, tend, nevertheless, to weigh against his view. Kinship organization appears to be rather a determinant than an outcome of economic structure. The family, the primary group, has its roots in the biological and social, rather than in the purely economic sphere. To this point we shall return in a later chapter. But for the present it seems better, instead of seeking to emphasize what is really a false opposition between these two points of view, to attempt to harmonize them both within a more general thesis. The central theme which it is so essential both for economist and anthropologist to grasp is that of the deep interaction between these two fundamental aspects of culture.

The manner of this reciprocal relation between economic and social phenomena will be developed still further in attacking the problem of Maori economic psychology.

Chapter IV

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WORK

In every treatise on the social economy of a people a large part of the discussion should centre around the problems of productive effort. In production one has to deal with the conversion of the materials afforded by nature into a condition fitted for the satisfaction of human needs, a process which is accomplished by means of labour. Of this concept a brief analysis may be given by way of introduction to the following study.

The essential feature of labour is that it implies exertion or effort of one kind or another, either physical or mental. It cannot be regarded, however, as including all types of activity. It must be distinguished in the first place from movements of the purely reflex kind, and even from the instinctive activity characteristic of the lower animals; one of its salient features is its purposive character. Again, it must be separated from another kind of activity, play or recreation, which, though purposive, aims at different results from those achieved by labour. The one seeks satisfaction within the activity itself; the other pursues a further end. The theory of Karl Bücher that work has developed out of play is for this reason not very plausible, failing as it does to recognize the fundamental difference in the nature of the end to be attained by each.[1] This is not to deny, however, that there may be a definite functional relation between the two types of activity in the social economy.[2] Labour, then, implies human effort of either bodily or mental kind, directed primarily toward the satisfaction of material wants. It has as its object the production of things which are deemed to be useful in securing the conditions of human welfare.[3]

[1] *Industrial Evolution*, 27–8; cf. O. Leroy, *Essai*, 74, etc. An old economic definition of labour as simply activity directed towards an end is untenable in the same way, as being too comprehensive to allow of this basic distinction. Cf. for example J. B. Say, *Traité d'économie politique*, 2nd ed., 1814, ii, 476, and Nassau Senior, *Political Economy*, 1872, 57.

[2] For the utility of play in economic life v. J. A. Hobson, *Work and Wealth*, 240–2.

[3] A discussion of the concept of labour is given in the majority of standard works on economics. For the problems of labour in relation to primitive economics v. B. Malinowski, *Nature*, Dec. 26, 1925.

The problem of labour, in the primitive as in the civilized sphere, is intimately bound up with that of motive. To a certain extent labour seems to afford an amount of pleasure; it gives an outlet for energy, and in the initial stages the sensation of physical—or mental—activity is agreeable. But this phase soon passes, and it is clear that the mere pleasure of work in itself is not sufficient to provide for its greatest efficiency, or even to ensure a continuance of effort for any sustained period. Most labour has the unfortunate quality of being irksome or even definitely painful after a short lapse of time. Hence the question arises: what keeps man at work when once the initial period of pleasurable activity is past? What are the incentives which drive him or lure him to continue his efforts in the face of the opposition set up by his immediate sensations? These forces of compulsion or attraction are many, varying in their precise nature according to the type of society under investigation. In olden days the fear of the lash, in modern times the fear of starvation may be counted among the potent incentives to work. Speaking generally, however, the most important is the idea of the material reward to be gained. Allied with this may be the idea of other satisfactions of a less tangible character—fame and honour or the hope of power.

The central problem of the present chapter consists in an attempt to evaluate the principal incentives to work which operated in the Maori social economy.

The performance of labour is often seen to be dependent on other influences which cannot properly be called motives or incentives, inasmuch as they do not initiate the activity or eventuate at its close, but accompany it and tend to mitigate some of its unpleasantness. The practice of working in company, the songs and choruses so often heard in primitive working-parties, the stimulative or narcotic drugs sometimes employed have all a palliative influence, tending to soften the harsh actualities of the laborious task. To the stimuli in vogue in Maori work reference will be made in Chapter VI.

A most important factor in labour, again, is organization, the binding together of the different individual contributions to secure the desired result. This topic, as also that of magic and its effects in economic life, will be treated in succeeding chapters.

With this brief preliminary allusion to the type of problems

to be considered in connexion with native work, the way has been paved for the immediate study of the psychology of the process.

The Problem

Among a people differing entirely in technical equipment, in social organization, in religious belief, in environment, and in general culture from ourselves, it is pertinent to inquire whether the student can proceed to the solution of the economic problems which confront him in the same manner as does the economist in studying the phenomena of our own society. It may be that a totally different psychological starting-point is necessary in primitive economics, in order to yield us results which are really in accord with native modes of thought and behaviour. The problem of this chapter is to ascertain what is the psychological basis of the industry of the Maori, to understand the motives, however vague and confused, which actuate him in entering upon and carrying out any economic undertaking, and his feelings, thoughts, hopes and fears while the work proceeds to its conclusion. To unravel from the tangled skein of mental process the relevant psychological data is no easy task. Not, as some theorists allege, that primitive man thinks in a manner entirely different from our own way of reasoning. He has the same mind-structure, the same logical methods, as we have. But the reason for our frequent inability to understand the mentality of the native lies in the fact that his starting-point is not ours. For centuries he has been isolated in a different natural environment, living in a different social setting, embedded in a different cultural milieu. So that, despite its essential similarity of structure and process, his mind, confronted with the same situation as our own, begins to function with a different set of initial preconceptions; with this different mental background, the presentation of the same facts may lead to totally different conclusions.

This attempt to delve into what may be termed the economic mentality of the Maori is fraught with great difficulty from the outset.

To gain entry into the mind of another person is never a simple business, nor are the barriers in any way lowered when that person is of an alien culture. And the method of introjection, the attempt to construe mind in others by analogy with mind

as revealed in oneself, is liable to lead one sadly astray. Nevertheless, the study of social behaviour from all angles, both in its individual and institutional manifestations, and the correlation of this with a body of opinion formulated by the people themselves, does provide a certain basis for the estimation of the nature and strength of motives. No absolute finality is attainable; yet a set of working principles can be drawn up. By a careful consideration, then, of these phases of life and thought which bear on economic phenomena, one may hope to reach at least an approximate understanding of the psychology of native work.

Human industry comprises a complex group of activities, supported by an intricate set of voluntary efforts, and emerging from the operation of a number of motives or incentives.

The analysis of these motives can be most aptly entered upon by taking as the chief subject for investigation any typical economic undertaking of a usual kind—one which was often performed by the Maori in former days. Examining its details step by step, we shall be able to gain some insight into what prompts the native at each stage of his task, what ideas lie behind his work and impel him to certain well-defined courses of procedure. To take this typical activity *in toto*, with its sequence of events, and investigate its psychological undercurrents from its commencement till its close, will afford a truer indication of the relative force and the logical outcome of interaction of the motives involved, than would the selection of a number of disconnected examples at random to illustrate the various theoretical points. Moreover, in studying closely a concrete example the real issue of the problem shapes itself more clearly, and there is less likelihood of neglecting any important psychological factor in Maori industry. In brief it is, as far as possible, approaching the subject from the native standpoint, which is essential in obtaining results that are true to life as well as to economic method.

Bird-snaring as a Type of Industry

I shall take as this typical undertaking the sequence of operations in one mode of fowling, commencing with the snaring of birds by the *tumu* method—which involves the placing in trees of specially constructed perches with nooses arranged

thereon—and proceeding to the subsequent tasks in the apportioning, preserving, storing, and consumption of the birds when obtained.

This activity has been selected for examination because of its comparatively simple character—its manifest aim being to secure food. If it is found that in this straightforward case the motivation for action is of a complex nature, then it will be clear that in the more involved types of economic undertaking such as the ceremonial exchange of gifts, there will be still less possibility of assuming the operation of a single motive.

It may be mentioned that this method of bird-snaring, though abandoned in most parts of New Zealand as powder and shot became plentiful, is still employed on rare occasions in one or two out-of-the-way districts. The methods here described have been shown to me in detail by several informants, of whom two have used the native apparatus in quite recent years on the borders of the Urewera country. The absence of sheep and cattle in the Urewera fastnesses until recent times, and the craving for flesh food as a relief from the interminable diet of potatoes, which still form the staple food in many villages, accounts for the persistence of bird-snaring there. I have also been told that after the Waikato War of the 'sixties, until Tawhiao threw open the King Country to the entry of the white man, and the *Aukati* boundary line was crossed by the *pakeha* (white man) in 1881, there was a great revival of fowling in the interior, especially by the old men, on account of the scarcity of powder and shot after the natives had virtually withdrawn from communication with towns, traders, and their goods.

Apart from the modicum of information personally collected, I have drawn extensively, in the actual descriptive matter which follows, on the work of Mr Elsdon Best, to whom every student of the Maori owes a debt of gratitude for his untiring labours in revealing so many aspects of the mentality of the native. The account of the ceremonial performances in fowling and of the mythology of birds is a synthesis of various notes in his writings.

Importance of Birds

To the Maori, especially to the dweller in the forest lands such as the Tuhoe district, the interior of the King Country, or the head waters of the Whanganui River, birds were an important part of the food supply. The coastal tribes and

the people of the lakes had their fish, the dwellers in the more open lands had their *kumara* (sweet potato) plantations and fern root, but in the land of Tuhoe, for instance, fish were scarce, the *aruhe* was restricted in range, and the *kumara* could not be cultivated to advantage on account of the climate. So forest food was practically the sole means of subsistence. Berries and roots were collected, the native rat was trapped, and birds were a staple product.

By people in other parts also birds were always greatly esteemed ; a piece of forest where they congregated, and in which they could be taken during the fowling season, was always jealously preserved by any tribe which was so fortunate as to possess it. At a feast of ceremony, when visitors were present, a bowl of *huahua* or preserved birds, neatly decorated, was often set in the midst of the provisions as a *pièce de résistance*, and a *taha* or calabash of the same was a present often made to a chief of rank, and greatly appreciated. The Arawa still relate the classic story of Uenuku-kopako, an ancestor of gigantic proportions and very fond of the pleasures of the table, who esteemed *huahua* above all delicacies, and who in an argument maintained its superiority to water as nourishment. But having consumed an immense quantity thereof, and suffering from the pangs of thirst in consequence, he found himself by the wiles of his opponent deprived of the precious liquid. In agony from lack of it, he was thus forced to admit that in the last resort water was of more value than preserved birds for the satisfaction and well-being of man. The dialectics of the narrative, of which I have given the mere skeleton, disclose how greatly *huahua*, especially preserved pigeon, was valued by the gourmets of old. But even to the common people, birds were of extreme importance as an article of food.

It must be realized in this connexion that there were in New Zealand no large mammals before the advent of the white man with his sheep, horses, and cattle. There was the little native rat, frugivorous, and used by the Maori for food in the same way as we use the rabbit. The Maori dog was domesticated, and though occasionally eaten, seems always to have been a rare animal. Apart from these there was no mammal—beyond man—to which the Maori could turn for flesh food. The coastal dweller had his fish, but to the inland tribes the inestimable value of birds as a relief from a vegetable diet can be well under-

stood. In fact there is a special term, *kinaki*—relish—which denotes a piece of flesh food placed in the basket of *kumara* as a tasty morsel to give variety to the meal and to please the palate.

If the people had been living for a long time on vegetable food it was an occasional practice to despatch a *taua*, a marauding party, to sally forth and capture any hapless wayfarer they might meet, which unfortunate was promptly slain and cooked that he might be used as *kinaki* to brighten up the monotony of the meals.

No greater insult could be levelled at a Maori than to mention that one of his forbears had served on some particular occasion to grace the festive board by way of *kinaki*—a relish to the sweet potatoes of an ancestor of one's own. To do so was to invite retaliation of direst kind.

Referring for a moment to the habit of the Maori of utilizing other people on occasions to make good any deficit in the food supply, there is no doubt that with most natives there was a distinct liking for human flesh. If a slave was killed by his master for any offence he was not wasted, but was taken off to the ovens for culinary purposes. As a kindly thought various joints might be sent round to friends and neighbours and were much appreciated. After a victorious raid, cannibal orgies took place and often lasted for several days. It is reported by natives that in the Amio-whenua expedition of 1821, which travelled round the coast of the North Island and covered some seven or eight hundred miles, one chief slept every night with a basket of human flesh as a pillow.[1] But apart from these interesting details it is obvious from any serious consideration of the subject that the supplementing of the food supply by levying toll on the persons of one's slaves or enemies was too spasmodic and irregular a business to be looked to as a means of supplying in any great measure the need for flesh food. Hence with most inland tribes great importance was attached to the slaying of birds for their valuable food qualities.

To a lesser extent, also, birds were valued on account of their feathers. Those of the *kukupa* (pigeon), *kaka* (parrot), *tui*, and *kiwi* were most utilized for ornamenting the finer varieties of mats, while the tail feathers of the *huia* and *kotuku* (white heron) were eagerly sought after to ornament the hair. These latter were worn almost solely by *rangatira* or people of rank.

[1] S. Percy Smith, *Maori Wars*, 223 (but probably an exaggeration).

This brief note indicates the reasons the Maori had for engaging in the occupation of bird-snaring, the main one being to obtain a supply of valued and needed food, the lesser being to have available a supply of feathers for the decoration of mats and ornamentation of the hair.

But in the work of any primitive people the economic aspect is always complicated by elements of the magico-religious. There are certain observances to be kept, ceremonies to be performed, and spells to be uttered in connexion with the various stages of the labour.

The strictly economic effort can never be absolutely divorced from these. The ethnographer must consider every activity in its social setting, in order fully to grasp and make clear the native's attitude towards the task he is performing.

And so having given the purely economic reasons why the snaring of birds was so keenly followed by the Maori, some indication must also be given of his magico-religious attitude in carrying out that activity, of the place which birds occupied in his esoteric scheme of life, so that we may understand as fully as possible the ramification of his motives, the reason for all that he saw fit to do in order to attain his ends.

Mythology of Birds

Here it is patent that the best approach is through mythology. When anything is looked upon by a native people as being of some importance in their life, one nearly always finds some piece of mythology in connexion with it, a story which purports to account for its origin, which sets it in a definite position in the scheme of existence, and as a general rule, brings it into relation with the pantheon of gods or culture-heroes. One would naturally expect then, in view of the importance of birds to the Maori as a source of food and material for ornament, that there would be some myth about them. Such a myth there is, arising out of the story of the functions of the Maori gods, and the account of the origin of natural objects. An understanding of the foundations of the belief of the native in these matters will make much more comprehensible the ensuing description of the actual procedure of the fowler when engaged in his work.

Briefly told, the main version of the myth states that Tane, the most conspicuous of the offspring of Rangi and Papa, the first parents, and one of the most noteworthy of the departmental

gods, was the author of the forest trees and of birds.[1] In his search for the *uha*, the female element wherewith man might be created, Tane found and cohabited with various beings—so runs the exoteric version of the myth, the one which our fowler would probably know—among them Kahu-parauri, by whom were produced Kokomako the bell-bird, Kokako the native crow, Koko the parson-bird, and other offspring. As the originator of birds, Tane had as one of his many titles the name of Tane-mataahi.[2]

These offspring of his were afterwards nourished on the lice in the hair of their ancestor Turangi ; and this failing to give satisfaction they were then fed on the vermin which abounded in the heads of the other relatives, of Tutu, Mako, Toro, Maire, Matai, Miro, and Kahika of the forest of Tane. Tane then turned to the reciting of ritual over the vermin in the heads of his first-born offspring, lest their younger relatives—the birds—perish.

In this myth we see the relation which the Maori held to exist between the trees of the forest and the birds, for in the elder relatives—Tutu, Kahika, Maire, Miro, and the rest—we have personified in myth the names of the well-known forest trees, which the feathered denizens of the forest frequent. The vermin from their heads are simply the fruits of those trees, which form the food of the birds. So that, stripped of its personification, the latter part of the myth indicates that Tane, having first produced the forest and its trees, then performed *karakia* (ceremonies) to render these fertile and produce berries and fruits on which his later creation, the birds, might feed. It may be noted here that whereas it is implied in the myth that Tane was the originator of all species of birds, the ones which are generally mentioned by the Maori in narrative are those of economic importance to him.

In another version of the myth one Rehua is said to have been the origin of one species of bird, the *tui*, which lived in his hair and fed upon the vermin there. Here again, from other evidence, Rehua appears to represent the forest, his hair the branches of trees, and the vermin the fruits thereof.[3]

[1] Best, *Maori Religion* (D.M.B., No. 10), 105. Ibid., "Maori Forest Lore" (*T.N.Z.I.*, xli), 189, 269–70. Cf. Chap. II of the present work.

[2] As the author of forest trees he was known as Tane-mahuta or Tane-te-waotu. In the last resort, as Tane-te-waiora, he represented the light of the Sun, with its fertilizing and creating power, as was recalled in the superior version of the myths (Best, *Maori Religion*, 58).

[3] Best, *Maori Religion*, 103.

Besides the myths relating to the origin of birds, the Maori also had various *korero purakau* concerning them, fireside tales like the German *Märchen*, which were told to amuse the folk in the communal house on long winter evenings. Such is the tale of the battle of the sea birds and the land birds, in which the characteristic cry of each species is imitated and accounted for by the particular part it played in the fray.[1] Again, the red feathers from the underwing of the *kaka* were prized for feather-cloaks and for the adorning of *taiaha*—the chief's stave—and we find a tale which narrates how this bird obtained them from the parakeet by deceitful practices.[2] But such tales do not concern us here, beyond showing that the interest of the Maori in the different kinds of birds was largely due to their economic value in his eyes, and that the importance which they possessed for him led him to shape folk-tales which embodied the salient characteristics of each species.

The real importance of this avian mythology—its narration has definite bearing on the subject—is that it allows us to realize the place of birds in the cosmic scheme of the Maori, his idea of their relation to the forest in which they dwell, and the fact that to him they live under the direct care of Tane, the God of the Forest, who, having created them, watches over their interests and is their guardian and protector. Hence the caution of the fowler as he threads his way between the tree-trunks and among the ferns along the dark forest paths, lest by precaution neglected in word or deed, he infringe upon the *tapu* of the *atua* whom no one would lightly anger. This conception of Tane, who is probably the most important among the gods of the old-time Maori, as tutelary deity of birds must be borne in mind, for it is our clue to the explanation of the placatory rites and ceremonies which encrust the economic activities of the fowler at every turn, and bulk so largely in the various operations of snaring and handling birds.

Bird-Snaring Operations

The direction of affairs in the snaring of birds was generally assumed by the *tohunga*, the priestly expert, who, as a rule, did not confine himself to the business of fowling alone. He might also be magician and director in agriculture, fishing, war,

[1] Best, *The Maori*, i, 180. [2] Ibid., 216–17.

ceremonies of religion, and occasions of marriage, birth, baptism and death, as well as doctor, architect, and carver. Before the season began this man, who was wise in forest lore, decided from the many signs he saw in the bush—the ripeness of the berries on which the birds fed, the profusion of the *rata* flower, the time of its blossoming, and the condition of the birds themselves—when the snaring should begin.

It may be noted in passing that in olden times birds were strictly preserved. When they were nesting, or when the young were newly fledged and unable to fly, no person was allowed to take them unless under circumstances of extreme need. A *tapu* was set upon the forest, and no one would dare to break it without serious cause. Any infringement would be punished by the villagers in the form of a *taua*, a raiding party which seized some of the offender's goods. If the prohibition had been imposed with great strictness and ceremony then he might suffer in another manner, for the *atua*, the cacodæmon, who guarded the forest, might visit him or members of his family with sickness, in return for the desecration of his *tapu* by the slaying of birds. The net result was that an important portion of the food supply was conserved at a critical stage, and undue depletion prevented—all by calculated action. This fact is of interest in view of statements that primitive man has no forethought, no care for the morrow, and takes no trouble to ensure a supply of food for future use.[1]

But relative to the material means at his command the Maori, in common with other native races, took a great deal of care and trouble, and exercised much forethought in attempting to provide for his future well-being. Having due regard to his culture status, his efforts to ensure continued satisfaction of his wants show considerable foresight.

The above-mentioned instance of abstinence, which could be paralleled by other examples of similar tenor, suffices to show the general lack of knowledge of the native displayed in such disparaging opinions.

The expert also ascertained that the *mauri*, the magical talisman which guarded the *hau* of the forest, preserving its fertility and the abundance of its birds, was safe in its hiding-place and in good working order. He probably recited a *karakia*

[1] K. Bücher, *Industrial Evolution*, 12, 17, etc.; cf. C. Gide, *Principes d'Économie Politique*, 10me éd., 1906, 632. See also Chapter VIII.

of appropriate kind over it, in order that it should be rendered efficacious during the coming season, and the work could be commenced in full confidence that the gods were exercising their protecting power. If, as was sometimes the case, a new *mauri* was required, it was made effective with due ceremony. Since a certain sacredness always pertained to a forest, through its association with the gods and the performance from time to time of magical ceremonies relating to it, such *tapu* was always lifted by the *tohunga* prior to the birding season. Then the priest himself, or the chief man of the village, made it known that snaring would commence on a certain day in the near future, and all people then busied themselves in getting ready for the approaching tasks, in which everyone had his part.

The first operation was the preparation of the paraphernalia for the snaring. This was often done in a special building—termed by Tuhoe the *whare mata*—a house set apart for the manufacture, the repair, and the storage of snares, bird-spears, traps, perches, and other implements pertaining to the taking of birds, as also of freshwater fish. The term was also used figuratively to denote all that pertained to the fowler's art; but whether a special house was erected or not, the same regulations were in force. Some days before the snaring began men repaired to the *whare*, last year's implements were lifted down, aud furbished up, new snare-cords were fitted—they lasted as a rule but one season, unless specially treated, when they might be used for two—and cordage of all kinds was prepared from the leaves of *harakeke* (*Phormium tenax*) and *ti* (*Cordyline australis*). This rolling, twining, and plaiting of fibre to form cord was a work largely performed by the old men. Like everything else there were customary methods of manufacture, found by experience to be efficacious, stamped with the seal of tradition and handed down from one generation to another as part of their economic lore. Such, for instance, was the rolling of the fibre with the palm of the hand on the bare brown thigh. Meanwhile, in the rest of the village there was great activity. The boys and girls and some of the women were sent off to collect stores of firewood in order that the birds might be cooked and preserved after the snaring, a supply of good oven-stones, selected with care, was laid by in readiness, and numbers of *hue* gourds were collected to serve as *taha*, receptacles to hold the birds when prepared. Strips of the inner bark of the *totara*, or occasionally of *hinau*,

miro, or *tanekaha* were also obtained for the same purpose, and by a simple process of heating, bending, tying, and luting the joints, neat and handy *patua*—rectangular containers—were speedily made. In all this work the slaves had their portion, being generally assigned the harder and more menial tasks. The *whare mata* and its inmates were under strict *tapu* while the fowlers were engaged in preparing their implements, and this restriction was not removed until the performance of a special ceremony after the first day's snaring, a rite which corresponds to the offering of the firstfruits. While this *tapu* was in force definite restrictions were imposed upon freedom of movement, the taking of food, and the satisfaction of sexual desires.[1] Neither cooked food nor women were allowed within the house, and no one might eat or live therein. The purpose of the *tapu* was to ward off all polluting influences from the *whare* and its inmates, from the snares and other apparatus, lest their efficacy and the skill of the fowlers be injured. In addition to the prohibition of women from entering the house, a man could not have intercourse with his wife until the *tapu* had been lifted. If, as sometimes happened, this regulation was broken it soon became known, for with the Maori, especially in such small communities, these things were always speedily found out. Then it became the occasion for a *taua*, a plunder-expedition which stripped the offender of all his goods. If a member of the community happened to meet with any accident or misfortune soon ofter the offence, then the mishap was at once attributed to the breaking of the *tapu* of the *whare mata*, and the *taua* was proportionately increased. The offending party in this instance would lose all his goods, and probably be speared in the arm or leg into the bargain, unless he happened to be fairly expert in the arts of self-defence. So that, apart from ill-success in fowling, there was another direct inducement to keep the *tapu* imposed at this season.

In addition to snares, ropes, and cordage, the preparation of new wooden implements was also a part of the work of the fowler. Here was opportunity for the exercise of the carver's ingenuity and skill. The amount of labour devoted to the construction of these simple things is surprising. The *mutu*, or bird perches, with which we are mainly concerned, are ⊢ shaped pieces of wood, the purpose of which is to provide resting-places for the birds when they settle on the tree.[2] A loop-

[1] Best, "Maori Forest Lore," iii, *T.N.Z.I.*, xliii, 1909, 433, 445. [2] See Plate IX.

BIRD PERCHES (*MUTU*)

On these snare-cords were set as in the example shown. They were then lashed among the branches of a tree. The fine carving on these utilitarian implements is worthy of note.

[*face p.* 140

snare has been previously arranged so that when a bird alights on a perch the cord is pulled, the snare catches him around the legs, his feet are held fast, the perch is swiftly unhooked, and he is drawn down to the waiting fowler below. The care and ability displayed in the carving and ornamentation of some of these *mutu* is truly remarkable. Of several which I have in my possession one in particular is a model of fine workmanship. The upright portion is wrought into the semblance of a bird-headed man, with scrolls on shoulder and hip, and hands with four fingers clasped on the protruding stomach. As was common in Maori carving the sex has been plainly indicated, the figure having been provided with the male organs of generation. The *toretore* or knob at the end of the perch is graven into the likeness of a head with protruding tongue. The *mutu* has been bored to receive the cord, and on either side of the *toretore* are bound the *ngingita*, feather quills under which the snare-loop is slipped, so that it is gently gripped and held in place against the swaying of the wind. The material is a hard wood which has taken a high polish, and the whole *mutu* has been beautifully finished. The carving, especially of the spirals, is of a very clean-cut character. It has been done, of course, with steel tools. But all such work in days of old was done with small stone chisels, entailing an immense amount of time and labour, and this merely to adorn a simple implement of which the fowler would have many in his possession! The fine carving and infinite pains taken in the ornamentation of the perch were quite unnecessary from the strictly utilitarian and practical point of view. It does not seem to have been executed as an appeal to the æsthetic sense of the birds, nor to have been essential to snaring, because other perches of a similar type, the *pewa*, were constructed simply from the branch of a tree, and were set up in the natural state with bark adhering. The reason for the expenditure of so much labour and trouble was evidently the innate desire of the brown craftsman to turn out work of good quality and neat finish, and to exhibit his skill in wood-carving and the expert handling of tools. He preferred to see what an English carpenter would call " a good job ". In order to satisfy his craftsman's feelings and to command public appreciation, he was willing to spend many times the amount of labour necessary to produce the final economic result—the efficient snaring of birds.

Presumably the carving on the finer specimens of *mutu*,

which took up so much time, was done not in the *whare mata* during the few days before snaring began, but in the course of a man's ordinary work, or in the spare time from his other occupations. He then of course observed only the ordinary carving regulations of *tapu*, and was not bound by the *tapu* of the *whare mata*, which would be extremely inconvenient if operative at all times.

It must be noted also that the carving of such objects as snaring perches, and the ornamentation of a man's tools and implements, was not usually done for purposes of exchange. There was not the direct and constant inducement of motives of gain to lead a man to expend this extra labour.

The snaring of birds was a task that was properly a part of the labour of the men of the village, and generally the presence of women seems to have been regarded as destructive to the efficacy of the snares and the skill of the men who handled them. Sometimes, however, women seem to have taken part in the enterprise, and to have attended to the snares on certain trees. The names of "Kake-wahine" and "Piki-wahine" given to trees imply that they were managed by women during the birding season.[1]

The people of the *kainga* generally proceeded to trap birds in families, each going to its own portion of bush where the special birding trees were located. But for simplicity let us follow an individual craftsman.

Our fowler, having provided himself with *mutu* (perches) and snares, is now ready to set out. But he will not simply walk forth from his hut in the early morning, armed with the implements of his craft, and commence his work. The capture of the children of Tane, the birds of the forest, is attained only by the observance of many rules of *tapu*, and the performance of the proper rites and ceremonies, dictated by prudence and a due respect for the powers of the forest and its fertility as a source of food to man. Our friend will make a very early start in the morning so as to get to his snaring tree before the birds assemble there to feed. Sometimes he will leave home before daylight, and dawn finds him squatting on his *papanui*, his platform, in the branches of a tree. But first of all he goes to the *tuapa*,[2] a post set up in the ground and painted with red ochre,

[1] Best, op. cit., 447.
[2] Ibid., 443–5, for what immediately follows.

to act as a bringer of luck, and to ward off evil influences. There he performs a simple piece of ritual to dispel any ill-luck of an ordinary kind ; the virtue of the ceremony appears to lie in the spell and the accompanying rite rather than in the post itself. The fowler has brought thither his snares, his perches, and any other implements in his basket or in his hand. He then takes a green twig or branchlet, touches them with it, and throws it down at the base of the post. At the same time he recites this charm—

" Ill luck and indolent desires lie ye here heaped up. Ward off ill success—cause man to acquire. "

The native interpretation of this is interesting. Always in a village there are indolent persons who are too lazy and inert to go forth and snare birds for themselves, but who pass their time in thoughts of anticipation of the delights of feasting on the birds that will be caught by others. But such birds are still at large in the forest, and troubled and forewarned by the ideas of such people concerning them, may still escape. These anticipatory thoughts, too, will have attached themselves to the implements to be employed, and may injure their efficiency. Hence by touching the snares and perches with the twig and reciting the formula, the desires of the indolent are transferred from their object to the base of the *tuapa*, where they are rendered innocuous, being neutralized by the *tapu* of that post.

There are several words in the native tongue—*tumanako*, *toitoiokewa*, *tuhira*—which indicate this desire or mention of absent objects which are still at liberty to escape. By the Maori such desires, thoughts, and utterances are ever deemed unlucky.

A similar attitude of mind is shown in the following quotation from Best. " Some peculiar restrictions applied to bird snarers. These were not allowed while engaged at their craft to use certain words connected with it, lest the birds should hear them and leave the forest or refuse to enter a snare. . . . Among some northern tribes many common words were *tapu* to rat-trappers when plying their craft in the forest." [1]

The fowler then proceeds on his way, confident that he has warded off the ill effects of any possible envious desires. With him he carries food for his outing. But this may not be cooked food, for such is extremely destructive to the *tapu* of the forest ; its virtue would be lost, its *mauri* would be *tamaoatia* (polluted) and the birds would disappear. Uncooked food alone, which does

[1] *Maori*, i, 254.

not have these disastrous effects, is allowed to pass through the forest in the birding season. As a rule he carries some raw fern-root, and when hungry cooks this with a bird or two and eats. Any remnant of the meal is, of course, not taken away, but left on the spot where it is cooked. In like manner he does not eat as he walks, or even standing, but sits down to his meal. There is no sense in risking the productivity of one's forest lands.

As our fowler threads his way among the trees to the place where he is going to set up his *mutu*, he may recite a *kaha* to himself, a charm to secure a good day's bag of birds. Every fowler had a little budget of these *karakia*, simple formulæ to bring him success, as had also the fisherman, the warrior, and every other craftsman. Also he keeps a sharp look-out for *puhore*, evil omens which bring bad fortune. If he stubs the left foot against the root of a tree that is a *puhore*, a sign of ill luck to come.

Each person had certain trees which belonged to him, and which had been known for generations as trees on which fowling was most likely to be successful. Many of these had names, showing that a special sentiment attached to them, and the owner alone had the right to take birds thereon. No one, unless he wished to incur the penalties of trespass, would dream of infringing on the rights of anyone else, and taking birds without permission from trees which did not belong to him. Our fowler then goes to one of his *tutu*—trees on which birds are caught by snaring on perches—and climbing up by means of a rough and very unsafe-looking vine ladder, reaches his stage among the branches, forty, fifty or more feet above the ground. Here he proceeds with the setting up of his *mutu*. This we will not discuss as the technical processes involved do not concern us here.[1] Suffice to say that his perches project outside the foliage, so that they are convenient settling-places for the parrots that come to feed on the berries of the tree.

Our brown friend squats quiet and still, waiting for the approach of the elusive *kaka*, tense and motionless as the bird draws near the perch. He has four or five or more *mutu* in the branches around him, their cords trailing down within easy

[1] For fuller descriptions of bird-snaring and its technique, see Best, op. cit.; Tamati Ranapiri, "*Nga Ritenga hopu manu a te Maori o Mua* (Ancient Methods of Bird-Snaring)," trans. S. Percy Smith, *J.P.S.*, iv, 132 et seq.; and T. W. Downes, *J.P.S.*, xxxvii, 1–29 (an excellent paper with much new detail).

reach of his hands. If the birds are plentiful three or four may settle on his perches almost at once. Then in a moment he is changed from immobility to the embodiment of vigorous but skilful action. He operates with a trained quickness and ease; not a movement is thrown away, not a moment is lost, for the Children of Tane are swift to take fright, and any bungling now may spoil his chances of sport for some time to come. Grasping a trailing cord in each hand, thumb down, he swiftly jerks tight (*takiri*) the noose, thus imprisoning two birds by the legs; then, putting a foot on each cord to hold them taut, he has his hands free for the other cords, which he pulls tight in like manner. Still dealing with the last two, he at once unhooks the crotch which suspends each perch in the tree, draws it down and releases the bird from the noose, killing it either by a bite at the back of the head, or a blow from a *hau*, a short striking stick. He then turns his attention to the former pair, where the cord has been kept taut by standing on it, and treats them in the same manner. Even these simple striking sticks, I was informed by Paki of Ohaua, were sometimes carved, showing to what lengths the decorative genius of the Maori would go.

Such is the scene as it has been described to me. The capture of several birds simultaneously was fairly exciting, but can have been by no means rare, especially in the olden days, when, as we know, a good fowler would obtain a bag of several hundred birds.

In all this the mental attitude of the fowler is very much as our own would be under similar circumstances. Anxiety to secure the birds blends with suspense lest after all through timidity or a luckless slip of the hand, they may escape the noose. Hence we have had the recitation of the *kaha*, to give skill and confidence to the fowler, and an easy, trusting disposition to the birds. Desire to obtain a good quantity of food for later consumption is mingled with the keen wish to exceed the catch of his rival in a nearby tree. If he is young, he wants to display himself in the light of an expert craftsman to the rest of the people. Maybe he has the secret hope of securing the biggest catch of all, so that when in the evening the day's doings are discussed in the crowded communal meeting-house, with fullness of detail and gesture, with relation of every trifling incident, as is the Maori fashion, he will hear with pride the mention of his name, the tally of his catch, the expert manner in which they were snared, and possibly receive some words of approbation

from one of the old sages, a past master in the fowlers' craft. All these thoughts and ideas, inchoate or clearly formed, did cross from time to time the mind of the fowler as he operated his snaring cords. And at intervals, I gathered from the narrators, all else was forgotten in the pure pleasure of the sport itself.

But he does not disregard the regulations of the *tapu*. He is careful in handling the birds not to let any loose feathers blow about, but throws them down at the base of the tree in which he is standing, where they are afterwards concealed. Feathers of birds were never left lying around in the forest or in the village, but were always carefully collected and buried. The native belief seems to have been that such feathers lying around, if seen by the birds, would cause them to forsake the forest. Old people would be very angry if they saw feathers strewn around in the village. Our man also watches that no blood from the birds smears his hands, as that would be detrimental to his skill ; such is his magical belief.

It is of interest here to digress for a moment and consider briefly the relation of magic to native industry. In itself it cannot be classed as economic, for despite the beliefs of the native, it does not, from the rational standpoint, produce any direct effect upon the conditions of material welfare. Birds are not retained in the forest by spells, snares do not operate more smoothly when formulæ are muttered over them, and the effect of people's thoughts is not neutralized by the waving of a green twig. Can it be said, then, that magic has any definite relation to economic activity? What is our justification for including it in the facts under consideration? There is no doubt that it has some very important indirect effects in giving a psychological backing to the native when he is engaged in any task, in imbuing him with confidence in his own skill and with certainty that his ends can be attained by the proper exercise of it. In short, it provides him with that assurance which is essential to success in any undertaking. If only from this point of view the magic of fowling must be regarded as an integral part of the economic activity.[1] These and other points will be treated in detail in Chapter VII, " Magic in Economics."

[1] The place of magic in the primitive economic life has been clearly analysed by B. Malinowski ; v. especially his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (59–60, 116, etc.) and " Magic, Science, and Religion " in *Science, Religion, and Reality*, 1926 (19–84), works which have been a constant stimulus in this present theoretical inquiry.

At the end of the day the catch is gathered up from the base of the tree and brought back to the fowlers' camp in the forest, or to the village, each man feeling pleased or cast down according as his bag is good or poor. There was quite a lot of rivalry among fowlers as to who would be most successful in the day's sport, and in olden days the name of a good snarer of birds was a thing to be desired. In this a young unmarried man would have a special incentive to industry, as his chances of obtaining a wife were greatly increased if he had the reputation of being a skilful man in the provision of food for the household.

The following story related to me by Te Kiri of Arawa illustrates an old-time custom of the Maori. Though referring here to fishing, it was also practised by bird-snarers, as mentioned below, and shows the same play of motives as went on in that activity. For that reason it is included here.

Not so many years ago, when he was a youth, he went out one day on a fish-spearing expedition. A party of visitors had arrived, and in view of the fact that they were related to the people of Te Ngae, a special feast was prepared. Their hosts went off to the lake to secure fish. But Te Kiri took spear and went up the Waiohewa stream to the fall by the Tikitere road. Owing to the proximity of a tribal *urupa*, or burying ground, to the mouth of the stream a certain degree of *tapu* attached to the spot, and the fish had been undisturbed for a long time. In consequence they were very plentiful, and of fine size, so that our friend had very good sport and in a few hours obtained sufficient for his requirements. In fact he could not carry away all his catch, but had to leave some behind on the bank. He arrived at the *marae* (public square) of the village, very pleased with his record catch, for the other people had returned from the lake with only a few each, and he looked forward to a hearty meal. But when the fish were cooked, his father, Rangi-te-ao-rere, a chief of the old school, explained to him that it was a former custom of the Maori that a boy who went on his first fishing expedition and had the luck to make a fine haul did not partake thereof in the usual manner, but was content with only the scraps of the meal—the bones and what he could pick therefrom. The custom had partly a religious significance; the boy refrained from eating fully of his first catch as an act of recognition of the aid vouchsafed him by the gods. Furthermore, such abstinence showed that he was not a glutton, and that he had not been thinking only of

his own pleasure when he made the catch. A similar custom, said his father, was followed on the occasion of a boy's return from his first bird-spearing or snaring trip: only the bones were his portion of the meal. The old man then quoted an ancient proverb of the people with reference to this latter idea, but my informant had forgotten it. However, his father desired that he would follow the old Maori custom on this occasion, and be content to refrain from eating fully of his catch. And though it went much against the grain Te Kiri did so, receiving as his share the bones and the heads of the fish, from which he had to extract what morsels of flesh he could. But note the motives from which he did so. Fear and respect for the gods of ancient Maoridom there certainly was not, but desire to prove that he was no glutton, and stronger still, the wish to uphold the family pride before guests, constrained him, in spite of his longing for food and his shrinkage from the ridicule of his brothers, to abstain from partaking of anything but the veriest scraps of the fruits of his labour. Such fasting, customary in fowling as in fishing, cannot be ascribed to any purely utilitarian motive, and reveals how the economic is continually bound up with other aspects of native life.

Not all men, of course, were expert in this art of bird-snaring. Some attained fame as warriors, others as cultivators of the *kumara*, others as fishermen of note, still others as fowlers and adepts at securing forest food. Again, it was not only for the provision of food for himself and his family that a man strove, but to secure supplies for the community. At a time of shortage of provisions, for instance, persons did not as a rule keep to themselves the product of their labour, but shared it out among the other people of the village. Side by side with work for individual ends custom decreed that the welfare of the community should be borne in mind. Personal interest was transcended in another way, too, in that a man tried to gain social recognition for his work, approval and commendation from the rest of the community, for among the Maori public opinion had, and still has, immense weight.

The community in fact played a very important part in all phases of the activity of bird-snaring, as it did in other phenomena of economic life. And now the return of the fowlers provides an occasion for a scene of communal activity. Let us first take the initial day's snaring, since it illustrates the events most clearly.

HOROIRANGI, A FOREST GODDESS

This image, carved in soft stone in a cliff face, formerly received offerings of the first fruits of the forest and bird-snaring. (Auckland Museum Collection.)

[*face p.* 148

At the end of the opening day's fowling, as the men of each family arrive with the bag, they are welcomed by the women of the village, arranged in some semblance of order on the *marae*, with waving branchlets of green in their hands, but uttering no sound of greeting. The fowlers are still under *tapu*, so the usual welcoming cries are absent. Then a very curious piece of ritual is performed. A fire is kindled ceremonially, i.e. by friction, not by a brand from another fire, and an incantation is repeated over it by the priest. The firstfruits of the birds of the forest are then brought in. The priest takes the first bird snared. The feathers thereof and a piece of some edible herb are roasted at the fire. They are taken from the fire and the priest repeats over them the *taumaha karakia*, the incantation to cause birds to assemble in the forest, after which a ceremonial act is performed with the body of the first bird, which is offered to the gods—to Maru, to Tunui-a-ika, to Tane, and others. A ritual feast follows, the priest eating birds cooked in one oven, the fowlers those from another, while the rest of the people partake of birds cooked in yet another oven. After this the ceremony is over and the *tapu* is lifted. The forest, the birds, the people are now *noa* or free from *tapu*. The season is open. People now set to work, some going bird-snaring, some beginning the preserving of birds. Now the fowlers may return to their wives and families, and again enter the meeting-houses and mingle with the people, for they might do none of these things while *tapu*.[1] The belief in the power of cooked food as destructive to *tapu* is seen in this ceremonial feast, as also in the prohibition of the bearing of cooked provisions through the forest by the fowlers or others. The eating or symbolical usage of ceremonially cooked food formed part of practically every *tapu*-lifting rite, such as that performed at the opening of a new carved house, at the conclusion of the first day's rat-trapping, fishing, or fowling, to rid a tattooing expert (*tohunga-ta-moko*) of his *tapu*, or to enable a chief who had cut his grandson's hair to mingle once more with his family.

So much for the firstfruits ceremony. Preserving of birds now begins at the village, or at the forest camp. At times, said one of my informants, persons bring in their birds and lay them on the *marae*, those of each family in a separate heap. Then all the people go round from heap to heap and appraise

[1] Best, ibid., 451–3.

the bag, commenting on the number brought in by each *whanau*, the luck obtained, the skill displayed, the fatness of the birds, and the toothsome morsels they will provide at a feast. If a family brings in a very small contribution then adverse comments are passed in plain language, and that family feels great shame. The stigma remains until next year when it is wiped off if possible by bringing in an extra large bag. Sometimes if the snaring is for the purposes of a feast the chief will pass a public comment or censure on a particularly small contribution, and this, too, is deeply felt.

For illustration, take an analogous case which was told me. In one *hapu* of the Arawa a collection was made on behalf of a certain Rua Kenana, the New Messiah and prophet of Maungapohatu. Bags of flour, provisions of all kinds, loaves of bread, were contributed freely—a large proportion of the loaves would be stale before they could be eaten ; but no matter, it showed the *aroha*, the affection, of the people. The good things were laid on the *marae* in piles, each pile representing the contribution of a different family of the *hapu*. One section, however, had brought in a rather miserable offering, partly by misfortune and inability through lack of ready money, but mainly through inertia and lack of enterprise.

Old Rangi-te-ao-rere, head chief of the *hapu*, in the speeches which followed the display of gifts, publicly referred in very scathing terms to the small amount of provender brought in by them, and alluded to a *tupuna* (ancestor) of evil memory, from whom doubtless the strain of niggardliness had descended. His words were heard with great shame by the offending family, but no anger was felt towards the old man by those persons. His public rebuke was felt as a merited reproach. In fact they had come somewhat prepared for such words. But of course such a thing was remembered as a stigma on the family, and even now the memory of it has not passed. It is still an evil thing to mention the occurrence in the hearing of any member of that family, or to remind one of those people of it. In fact, it is said that to do so purposely is an insult almost comparable to the use of the term *poriro* (bastard) in reference to his birth.

This shows the force exerted by public opinion among the Maori, and how it functioned as a determinant of economic action.

When the piles of birds on the grass had been duly inspected,

admired, and appraised, then the whole was ceremonially handed over by the *tohunga* to the chief, at whose disposal it lay. If a man of high rank was among the contributors, then, said Te Kiri, he was allowed to withdraw the share which he had brought and to retain it for himself. If a visiting chief were present then the chief of the village might as an act of hospitality hand over all the game to his guest. A Maori chief liked above all things to appear generous.[1] Thus a chief in dividing up provisions might give all away to members of his *hapu*, keeping nothing for himself. This was the mark of a great chief.

As a rule the birds went into the common stock of provisions belonging to the family group. There were also private stocks of food, but a man did not necessarily retain for himself what he had snared. Nor when, as might happen, the birds were later drawn upon for a feast or a *tangi*, did he consume what he had himself contributed.

The bulk of the birds from the snaring are set aside for preserving. They are plucked and the bones removed, leaving the lower beak remaining with the flesh, for when the prepared birds of each person are counted it is by means of these beaks that the tally is made. In former times a good deal of rivalry obtained among persons preparing birds as to who would show the greatest number plucked. The pigeons or *kaka* parrots, or whatever they may be, are then roasted before a fire, and packed in calabashes, boiling fat being poured in over them to fill up the gourds and so seal them up in air-tight fashion. Birds so preserved are termed *huahua manu* and are esteemed a great delicacy at a feast. Very often they will form the centre piece of the occasion. The calabash is provided with carved wooden legs, a carved mouthpiece, *tuki*, is lashed to the top, a small mat wrapped around, for decorative purposes, and the whole adorned with feathers of hawk or pigeon which are hung in bunches from legs and sides. Such a *taha huahua*—calabash of preserved food—is very much admired, and as forming the principal item of the feast was placed before important guests or presented to the chief persons of rank present.

Such is the completion of the cycle of the snaring of birds, their apportionment, preservation, and consumption. With this brief outline of the main characteristics of one type of economic

[1] Cf. the writer's *Proverbs in Native Life*.

undertaking among the Maori, we are now in a position to understand more clearly what are the motives which underlie that activity, and the manner in which they interact to produce the phenomena of the production of material goods.

Motives in Fowling

As already noted, in such an activity as bird-snaring, one would expect to find the simplest conditions of the problem of motivation, since the undertaking has for its manifest aim a single end—the securing of a certain type of food. One might almost be excused then for presupposing that the operation of one central motive, the desire to secure for oneself as many birds as possible with the least effort, would be sufficient to explain the whole. But though the psychological factors of the bird-snaring activity are apparently of a simple nature when compared with those which underlie such an act as the ceremonial exchange of gifts, it is plain that even here in the simpler case we cannot assume the unhindered operation of this single motive force. Even a cursory examination of the details of the process given above reveals that we are dealing with a complex set of forces. Several motives are present, combining and interacting in such fashion that the native, even if he were a psychologist, would be hard put to it to discover exactly by what ideas his actions were prompted at certain moments. Our analysis will enable us to show in general terms, however, what are the main factors involved.

In engaging in the arts of bird-snaring the evident and primary motive of the native is undoubtedly the provision of food. Man as an animal requires nourishment, and his instincts lead him to endeavour to obtain it. But, unlike other animals, man, both in savage and in civilized life, has these instincts modified and conditioned by cultural factors. Hence we find that the instinctive drive for food finds expression in certain well-defined modes of procedure, of which among the Maori the art of bird-snaring is one. It is obvious that the desire to obtain as great a supply of birds as possible is the most prominent incentive in the undertaking.

Work of a practical nature—from our point of view—the choosing of a suitable tree, the selection of the particular kind of bait best calculated to attract, the setting-up of the snares, was plainly directly toward the attainment of this end. The

Maori of old was endowed with an enormous amount of forest-lore of this kind, as has already been mentioned in a previous chapter. He knew exactly the fruits and flowers which were favoured by the birds of each species, the type of tree in which they preferred to settle, the time of the year in which they were fattest, and the correct bait or lure to tempt them all. He knew that the pigeon was exceedingly fond of the *miro* berries, which made it very thirsty, hence he made artificial water-troughs, set snares around the edge, and caught the unsuspecting bird in hundreds. He knew the curiosity of the *kaka* parrot, its brawling habits and delight in the sound of its own voice, hence he mimicked the cries of that bird and drew it down to his hiding place. He knew the most efficient methods for securing birds according to the season, and he adapted his method, whether it were *here*, *mutu* or *pewa*, *wai tuhi*, *pae* or *tahei*, according to the particular ways and habits of each one of the feathered children of Tane.

Even in the *tumu* process which we have been describing, there were four main types of *mutu*, each varying in the shape of the perch and the angle which it formed with the upright, the object being to locate snares in all parts of the tree and so catch birds of all dispositions. One variety was adapted for placing in the topmost branchlets of the trees in order to accommodate the shy bird who shuns the ordinary perch of his more confiding brethren. A vast body of empiricial knowledge of this kind was directed to increasing, by as simple methods as possible, the available supply of food.

Sufficient has now been said to show the prominence of this "instinctive drive", expressed through definite cultural media, in prompting the native to any economic undertaking.

But, reviewing the series of events in the snaring, it is evident that the bare desire to secure food is never the sole motive behind the various phases of the undertaking. The influence in the first place of traditional and religious ideas is extremely powerful. In every native community the force of tradition is much stronger than among ourselves, and nearly all phases of an economic act are performed in a traditional mould. As a rule, this traditional method of work is one that has grown up as the result of experience. Out of a kind of trial by error, the native, generation by generation, though always somewhat inhibited by existing customary behaviour, selects the methods which appear to be most advantageous in attaining a given end. These, handed

down as in the arts of bird-snaring by personal tuition from father to son, are given the seal of traditional approval. With this is interwoven, too, the religious and magical side of economic performance. In carrying out any piece of work, then, the native is quite definitely prompted by traditional and religious motives—the desire to act in conformity with what he has been taught as to practical methods, ritual, magical and ceremonial observances. Sometimes these traditional forces are anti-utilitarian—they operate against what appears to be in the best interests of the native. Custom and belief compel him to spend much time in carefully gathering up all feathers, even stray ones, and burying them; often in the depths of the forest he casts away a bird as an offering to Maru or Tane, thus directly diminishing his economic store.

Another factor of account is the emulative impulse. In such phases of fowling as the actual snaring of the birds, or the plucking of them before cooking, rivalry, the impulse to show oneself to better advantage than other persons engaged in the same occupation, has been shown to be distinctly conducive to economic action. Closely allied to this impulse of emulation, and arising from the impulse of self-display, is the desire to win the approval of others. This, in a Maori community, where every event, however small, is food for public discussion and the expression of public opinion, would be an obvious incentive to work. We have already mentioned its operation both directly, as regards winning a reputation as a snarer, and indirectly, in using that reputation to win a wife.

Arising out of this deference of the native to public opinion is the question of how far his motives to industry were determined by his conception of the community in which he lived and his relation to it. There is no doubt that among the Maori the sense of communal unity was very strong, and the claims of the group upon the individual were seldom denied. The manner in which on occasion the products of the industry of the individual were freely contributed to the communal store, in which communal labour was entered upon without consideration of exact equivalent to every person for labour performed, reveals not only the sense of duty which animated each man, but also the strength of the bonds which linked him to the group. It is evident from this that to postulate for purposes of economic investigation the operation of the pure principle of self-interest would be not at all in accord with the facts of native life. In our scheme of

economic motivation we must include as powerful incentives to action the sense of communal responsibility and the desire to contribute to the well-being of the group, backed up by the strong forces of custom, habit, and tradition.

But some theorists, sticklers for the traditions of the classical school, may yet argue : notwithstanding all this laudable analysis of motives, we are still left with the one fact that the Maori, in the type of industry described, desires only to obtain the greatest quantity of birds with the least effort and sacrifice. The existence of these other motives as the ultimate spur to action is admitted ; but all that is necessary for the economist to ascertain prior to his investigations is not why the native desires them, but simply that he does desire them. But this attempted reduction of the motives for economic action to a minimum is quite inadequate, and definitely misleading. For if we proceed on this assumption that the Maori in all his industry is actuated solely by desire for material goods, it is obvious from the foregoing description that our final conclusions will be quite abstract, and far removed from the realities of native life. In such case our attempt to solve some of the problems of primitive economics will be just as inept as if we postulated an economic savage, and used him as the basis for *a priori* generalizations concerning the work and life of the native.

Truth requires that we shall take account of all ideas and incentives which assist in determining economic action, and a hypothetical simplicity of motive which lends a false ease to the problem must be discarded as being of no value.

That this simplification would be misleading, that our fowler is not animated by the lone desire of securing as many birds as possible, is obvious from the consideration of one further psychological factor in his work. In the *whare mata* and the precedent operations the skill of the craftsman in fashioning perches is carried to a degree far beyond that required for any economic purpose. What are the reasons which underlie this seemingly extra-economic action ? The *mutu* thus shaped and ornamented are a gratification to the carver's pride, they evoke the admiration of other carvers and fowlers, but still more—they provide opportunity for the exercise of talent, outlet for the innate tendency to activity. This last is a factor which leads most men, Maori as well as European, to take up some kind of occupation in their spare time. With the city man it is games,

photography, numismatics, carpentry or gardening, with the native it is posture dancing, fashioning of ornaments, polishing of weapons or carving. Allied to this desire of work for its own sake is the wish, quite apart from emulative ideas, to produce something of quality—something which the craftsman feels to be in accord with his conception of himself and his powers.

The Social Background of Work

The detailed analysis of the economics of fowling has laid bare the scheme of motivation of the activity, and has indicated psychological factors of great importance in native industry. But to widen the scope for our conclusions and to give them an even firmer empirical basis a few instances may be given from other types of economic enterprise, to show how the same set of motives comes into operation. Everywhere the drive of vital needs is blended with a complexity of other incentives, some largely instinctive in their origination, others the product of education, tradition, and the general social milieu.

Much of the smaller carving work of the Maori, for instance, the decoration of tools, implements and weapons, was a spare-time product, done from the desire for employment and the love for a well-finished article. All the world over, the production of objects of artistic quality can be correlated to a certain degree with the enjoyment of hours free from routine labour. " Leisure and pleasure " contribute greatly towards fine workmanship in primitive industry. The manufacture of objects of greenstone was often undertaken by old men as a relief from the monotony of existence ; the persistent rubbing soothed their nerves and gave them occupation as they squatted in the sun in the porch of a house. The *mere*, the short weapon used by men of rank in hand-to-hand fighting or as a badge of office, often bore a very high polish, the result of months or even years of work, for the stone is one of the hardest known to lapidaries. And this was very often a labour of love, for the polish of one's weapon was in no way an advantage in coping with one's opponent—unless perchance it dazzled his eyes ! Heaphy records in the early days in New Zealand that a native would often get up at night to have a polish at a favourite *mere*, or take one down to the beach and work away by the surf.[1] Countless other instances might be

[1] Quoted by F. R. Chapman, " Working of Greenstone," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxiv, 499.

adduced, but there is no need to labour the point. Among the Maori—as with ourselves—many tasks were undertaken for their own sake, simply for the interest in the work and the pleasure in doing it well. A friend of mine who has considerable mechanical skill has confessed that he has often been conscious of a feeling akin to disappointment when he has finished a particular piece of building. With its completion, the pleasure of planning out and executing the work was at an end. And an excellent instance of the absorption of the old Maori carver of former time in the work of his hands is seen in the behaviour of some old chiefs who, having an appointment with Governor Grey, arrived more than half an hour late. They excused themselves by saying that they had been busy with their carving chisels, and the time had slipped by unnoticed,[1] a fact at which anyone who knew the carvers of the older generation would not be surprised. In every economic undertaking of the Maori the strictly practical and utilitarian motive does not always and everywhere dominate the whole. Allowance must always be made for what might be called pleasures of craftsmanship, a term which serves to include also the desire to perform work for its own sake.

An interesting illustration of one of the many-hued incentives which actuated the Maori in his work is given by Te Rangi Hiroa.[2] A common method of obtaining the *koura* (freshwater crayfish, *Paranephrops*) in the Rotorua lakes was by dredging them. A pole was set fast in the lake bottom, and to it a canoe was fastened and then paid out on a long rope. The canoe, with dredge attached, was then hauled in up to the pole by one of the crew, the catch emptied, and the process repeated. The man who was hauling on the rope had the opportunity of lending a swagger to his work by stretching out with full-arm reaches to grasp the rope, and then straightening his back in a spectacular manner. This was the correct thing to do : *Kia maro te tuara* (straighten the back) was the expression. Such a desire for display, to attract attention, was a prominent feature in many Maori pursuits, and was usually provided for by some standard or recognized mode of action.

The freshwater mussels termed *kakahi* (*Unio menziesi*) were much esteemed as a food delicacy, and a favoured method of obtaining them was by a dredge-rake handled on the end of a

[1] H. G. Robley, *Pounamu*, 1915, 29.
[2] Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck), *T.N.Z.I.*, liii, 444–9.

long pole. As dredging these shell-fish was a work of great skill, an expert in the art was held in high admiration. *He tino mahi tohunga*, say the natives in praise of such a person. To get a good quantity was difficult, and a novice or unskilled person (*kuare*) was useless at such work. According to the Maori idea, skill in this occupation was inherited by the members of certain families. As there was so much talk about dredging, it was only natural that the people who engaged in it should indulge in a good deal of show. The fisherman going out to the *kakahi* ground donned his best cloak of fine flax or dogskin, and when a special demonstration was desired, a spectacular method of dredging known as *whakaangi* was adopted. This involved a vigorous play of the rake handle in showy style, a wielding of it in a manner akin to the sparring with a long two-handed weapon. Indeed, it is from the similarity to this of the motor excitation induced by the motions of pole-dredging that the more spectacular elements of the latter seem to have been derived. So Te Rangi Hiroa says of the *kakahi* dredger: "as he dredged along he had to move the handle from side to side; gradually the movement would excite him so that anon he was guarding and parrying with the handle of the dredge-rake, quite oblivious of the *kakahi* below." On the special occasions it was necessary, to obtain the full effect, that a breeze should be blowing across the dredging ground. Great preparations were made. The large canoes, preferably the war canoes, were dragged out, and the fishing crew dressed themselves in their finest clothing. They put off, paddled up against wind and drifted over the ground with the breeze, the dredge-rakes over the side. With the numbers of men engaged, the brave show of their cloaks and the imposing beauty of the great canoes, it was an affair of much *éclat*. And it was here that the *tu karo*, or sparring with the handle of the dredge-rake, came most to the fore. Old men say that it was a sight to stir the blood when several canoes were working the same ground, their crews vying with one another in the skilful play of rake-handle.

This is an excellent instance of the way in which a social incentive takes charge, as it were, of the economic activity, and gives a new orientation to the whole process. Such a method of carrying out the dredging for shell-fish implies the social recognition of the work as an important economic pursuit; imparts an air of dignity to the proceedings, and confers upon it the accolade of distinction. This has a definite practical effect

as well. The brave display of cloaks and canoes, the sparring with rake-handles gives a new tone to the work, brings a touch of excitement into it, offers opportunity for emulation and personal achievement, and is thereby of distinct value in promoting the execution of the work.

The same might be said of the whole ceremonial aspect of food gathering, food display, food apportionment and consumption—that attitude expressed in the complex set of polite observances, interwoven with magical and religious beliefs and customs, sometimes termed a "food-cult". Its special importance in this connexion lies in the definite function which it performs of laying stress upon the economic side of life, of concentrating attention, stimulating effort, and increasing efficiency in work. In his suggestive work on *The Andaman Islanders*, Professor A. Radcliffe Brown deals at length with the ceremonial observances relating to turtle and other foods, which he regards as an expression of the social value of these foods to the native, a recognition of their importance in his scheme of life. It seems to the present writer that one can even pass beyond this conclusion into another field of inquiry and show that these ceremonies themselves have an important effect upon practical economic affairs.[1] Not only are they an expression of the social value of food, they also react directly upon its acquisition. They give an emotional tone to the otherwise drab round of economic life; on their social side they offer enticing prospects of parade and excitement, the lure of public appreciation; in their religious and formal aspect they steady and stiffen the activity, and supply a backbone of regulation and order. In short, by the introduction of a totally new set of motives into economic pursuits they facilitate work and thus promote the satisfaction of the vital needs.

In his chapter on "The Human Origins of Industry"[2] J. A. Hobson remarks that to each of the organic activities lying at the basis of human industry—such as hunting, fighting, mating, or the care of children—Nature has attached some definite physical or psycho-physical enjoyment. All actions which

[1] One of the definite contributions of Professor B. Malinowski to anthropology has been to show that the ceremonial treatment of certain aspects of life as economics, sex, and the crises of human existence is more than the bare assertion of their social value, but has in addition a pragmatic importance within culture. v. his "Economic Aspect of the Intichiuma Ceremonies", loc. cit., *Argonauts* (chap. on "Magic"), *Magic, Science and Religion, Sex and Repression.*

[2] *Work and Wealth*, 21.

possess a " survival value " or biological utility to man are " endowed with a pleasure bonus as a bribe for their performance ". This is in line with the argument of the preceding few pages, which goes to show that in human economic activity culture adds another set of social inducements to supplement the biological satisfactions attendant upon industry.

These generalizations which have been put forward in respect of native economic psychology are in general accord with the standpoint of modern theorists in the wider field. The ashes of the fire of controversy which once raged around the economic altar are long since cold, and economists of to-day recognize the complexity of motives which actuate man in his economic life. Says Marshall, " They deal with a man who is largely influenced by egoistic motives in his business life, but who is neither above vanity and recklessness, nor below delight in doing his work well for its own sake, or in sacrificing himself for the good of his family, his neighbours, or his country." [1] And J. A. Hobson, in his discussion of motives in early industry points out on the one side the universal nature of the " promptings of vital utility ", and on the other that everywhere there are " what we call distinctively economic motives and activities almost inextricably intertwined or even fused, with other motives and activities, sportive, artistic, religious, social and political." [2] This is not merely a lip-service to psychology. In the last quarter of a century economic science has founded its premises on a broader and firmer psychological basis.

Much of the need is thus now removed for the strictures which have been passed on " the shadowy Primitive Economic Man on whose imaginary behaviour many of the scholastic deductions of abstract economics are based ". However much he stalked through the pages of the older theorists, Economic Man, in either civilized or primitive garb, is no longer a *habitué* of economic textbooks.

The most solid and comprehensive work in primitive economic psychology has undoubtedly been done by Professor Malinowski, whose monograph, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, with its analysis of the whole social fabric of the institution of the *Kula*, is really an intensive study of the complexity of motive which actuates the native in all his economic affairs. In respect of the relative value of motives in work, it is shown how over and above the

[1] *Principles*, 1922, 27. [2] Op. cit., 26.

desire for utilitarian advantage other impulses of ambition and vanity, of conformity to social and traditional norms play an important part.[1] Every student of primitive economics, in fact, gratefully builds upon the foundations which Malinowski has laid.

It will be well now to bring together in a brief statement the theoretical conclusions which have emerged in the course of this chapter.

It is evident first of all, that there is great necessity for a careful examination of the psychological bases of primitive industry. Any careful research into the economic organization of a savage race can only be undertaken with adequate knowledge of the motives which actuate the native in his work, hence an investigation into economic psychology must be the preliminary to any study of primitive economics.

Economic activity is social activity. That aspect of native life which deals with securing material welfare can never be completely isolated from the rest. As the description of the various types of work has revealed, the economic is continually complicated by religious and magical ideas, it is performed in a traditional mould, and modified by facts of social organization and general culture. To obtain any clear perspective of primitive economics, any true conception of its nature, it must not be wrenched from its social setting.

Our specific study of Maori economic psychology shows the complexity of the motives which actuate the native in his economic life. The Maori is impelled to work first of all by the primary motive—the drive of vital needs—but his whole economic life must not be construed on this basis alone. On all sides the

[1] At times, however, one receives the impression that undue emphasis is assigned to such factors. Thus " the Trobriander works prompted by motives of a highly complex, social and traditional nature, and towards aims which are certainly not directed towards the satisfaction of present wants or to the direct achievement of utilitarian purposes " (op. cit., 60). And again, " the Trobriander is not guided primarily by the desire to satisfy his wants, but by a very complex set of traditional forces, duties and obligations, beliefs in magic, social ambitions and vanities " (ibid., 62). As a summary of motives this is admirable, but the antithesis made between the desire to satisfy wants and the other social factors seems unnecessary. It is true that the Trobriand native lives in a peculiarly urbane natural situation, where he has no very arduous struggle to maintain himself at comfort-level. Nevertheless, the satisfaction of his vital wants must be, after all, one of the basic controls of his economic life. The whole story of the *Kula* exchange with its intricate ramifications is really an excellent illustration of the blending of the drive of vital needs with the other social incentives.

pallid hue of rational effort is tinged with the warm colour of emotional interest. The pleasure of craftsmanship, the feeling of emulation, the desire for public approval, the sense of duty towards the community, and the wish to conform to custom and tradition, all these and more find outcome in economic action. As I have pointed out, these are not mere formal phrases, but represent concrete aims, hopes, and sentiments in the mind of the native. The incentives to industry cannot be resolved into any one simple formula. The " desire to obtain material goods " is a totally inadequate definition of the complex motives which lie behind the interest of the native in his work. One of the first and most important points for the student of primitive economics to realize is the irreducibility of the psychological factors involved.

It is clear also that self-interest alone is not the driving force in native industry, and that each man is actuated to some degree by the wish to promote the welfare of the community of which he is a member. Magic, again, has been demonstrated to stand in definite relation to economic activity. It is no mere excrescence on the practical domain of native life, to be removed by civilization with speed ; it has a definite and valuable function in primitive economics, a fact which the average white man never realizes. This in itself is one more proof of the need for a fuller study of the psychology of native industry.

Chapter V

THE NATURE OF MAORI INDUSTRY

"*He mahi kai te taonga*" (obtaining food is the prized accomplishment).

Saying of the chief Kahungunu.

The natural surroundings of the Maori forced him to work hard for his living. As has been pointed out in Chapter II, the environmental conditions in New Zealand were not of the bland and friendly type which characterized most of the Polynesian isles; the material conditions of welfare, especially adequate supplies of food, were only to be obtained at the cost of much strenuous and prolonged effort. Work, then, had to occupy a basic position in Maori life. It is the purpose of this chapter to consider the social setting of the labour of the native, the manner of performance, the aptitude for work, the popular standpoint from which participation in it was viewed, and the relation of industry to such other aspects of life as education and art.

The attitude of a society towards its workers—this term being used in a comprehensive sense—is a rough index of its cultural fitness, measured in terms of the capacity of the society to live and endure. A sane respect for work, not paying blind homage to labour, nor laying upon it the stigma of mean effort, has undoubted utility to the community in the effort to maintain its existence.

The Popular Attitude towards Work

For the Maori, the idea of work had a distinct social value. Labour was regarded as honourable, and no man demeaned himself by engaging in it. Even a chief lost no prestige by carrying on such a manual task as the hewing-out of a canoe; he might have been seen working side by side with his people in the cultivations, and took a prominent part in the labours of fishing or the snaring of birds. Competent participation in economic pursuits was in fact a distinct asset in increasing his influence and authority with his people.

Among the Maori there was no class of persons able from their wealth to purchase indulgence and exemption from labour. Chiefs of the highest rank were screened from the rough manual work, both from the respect of the people for their position, and also from the aura of *tapu* which surrounded them. But even they were not expected to lead a life of leisured ease, and generally occupied themselves with carving, the making of weapons and ornaments, and the direction of the more important economic enterprises. They might also take a vigorous part in the actual toil of the latter occupations.

Though skill in all the industrial arts was the object of praise, diligence and expertness in the winning of food did most perhaps to secure the ascendancy of a chief—probably because the fruits of his labour were more accessible to the people. In the life-story of the great chief Kahungunu there is one partly fanciful episode in which his superiority in procuring food gave him a distinct social standing. This man, when residing with a stranger tribe, impressed the people greatly by his exceeding adeptness in the matter of collecting *paua* shell-fish (*Haliotis iris*) by diving and of securing enormous bundles of fern-root. Everyone was astonished at his prowess. Then the people, seeing the great deeds of this man, wondered and contrasted with him their own chief Tamatekutai, who could only carve wood, and performed scant service in this matter of providing food. So they took away his wife Rongomai-wahine from him and gave her to Kahungunu, who thereby acquired great position and influence in the tribe.[1] Perhaps the reward was a trifle in excess of his deserts, especially as the wily chief seems to have had an eye to the main chance in his feats of provision hunting. Nevertheless the narrative indicates the bent of the native mind.

With a person of no particular rank, also, steadiness and skill in work helped to secure him a certain status in the community, and carried with them distinct social advantages. The qualities desired in prospective wives and husbands offer a fair indication of the trend of social values. Apart from the universal claims of beauty, a girl always liked to get for a husband a man who would be a good worker, and expert in providing food for the household. The parents were also interested in obtaining for a son-in-law an industrious man. Terms used in this connexion,

[1] S. Locke, *T.N.Z.I.*, xv, 453. Cf. also the story as related by Pango-te-whare-auahi, *J.P.S.*, xiv, 68–9.

ihu puku and *ihu oneone*, are instructive, meaning as they do, literally, a dirty or soiled nose, that is a person who is continually occupied with his face to the ground, in cultivating the soil.[1] And a *haka* song which young people chanted when at play indicates a similar attitude—

> " *Ma wai e moe te tane*
> *Mangare ki te mahi kai ?*
> *He ra te kai ki taua kiri. E !* "
>
> " Who will marry a man
> Too lazy to till the ground for food ?
> The sun is the food for
> The skin of such an one ! "

Then comes the query for the opposite sex—

> " Who will marry the woman
> Too lazy to weave garments ? "

and the answer is given in the same derogatory strain.[2] A useful reputation in the village could always be gained by industry.

For a worker of skill and ability in a craft, special terms might be employed. Thus of neat work in carving or weaving a *mohio* (expert, one possessing knowledge of the craft) would say, " *na te rehe* (It's the work of a *rehe*)." This word implies a small-handed, dexterous person, skilful at fine work, and apparently of a quick nervous temperament.[3] Again, of neat work of such a kind it might be said, " *Ano, me he whare pungawerewere* "—" Look ! (fine) as a spider's web." [4] And for the craft of an expert carver there was the saying " *nga mahi a Rauru* "—" the work of Rauru," [5] the latter being a mythological person skilled in the art, who is credited in some quarters with having introduced the knowledge of carving into New Zealand. On the other hand, there were various terms and expressions to denote rough, slovenly or unsightly work, as for weaving which was ridgy, uneven, and of poor quality. And to convey disapproval of bad workmanship, of a slipshod, careless type, allusion was made to the fabled act of Kahukura of old, who, in order to learn the art of netting from the fairies, deliberately bungled the tying

[1] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 604.
[2] E. Shortland, *Trad. and Superst.*, 1st ed., 1854, 148–9.
[3] E. Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxi, 637.
[4] G. Grey, *Whakapepeha*, 2.
[5] Grey, ibid., 75.

of his string of fish in order that daylight might catch these people still at work and oblige them to flee. "*Ko te tui whakapahuhu a Kahukura*"—"It is the string made to slip by Kahukura" is the saying.[1]

Together with the recognition of the dignity of labour went the reprobation of idleness. Public opinion was very strong in Maori society and was distinctly against the man who neglected his obligations. Strong comments were made by other village people, especially the elders, on persons who slacked, while the force of tradition was brought to bear through the *whakatauki*, proverbial sayings of a pithy kind, of which a large number dealt with economic life. Among these we find many which praise the industrious man and speak plainly to the laggard or the idler. Such expressions were in common use, and are of interest both from the light they throw on the popular attitude towards work, and from their function as a means of social control of behaviour.[2] A few examples may be given in illustration. Thus :—

> "*He tangata momoe, he tangata mangare*
> *e kore e whiwhi taonga.*"

"A man fond of sleep and a man fond of sloth never will obtain wealth".[3] There is an old saying of the people of the Lakes :—

> "*Tane moe whare, kurua te takataka*
> *Tane rou kakahi, aitia te ure.*"

"Man drowsing in the house, smack his head.
Man skilled in dredging freshwater mussels, cohabit with him."[4] The *kakahi* was a food greatly prized.

Again,

> "*Ehara ta te tangata kai he kai titongi kaki ;*
> *e kore e rite ki tana ake, tino kai, tino makona.*"

[1] Best, *Maori*, i, 220 ; cf. also Grey, *Nga Mahinga*, 178–9, for the full Maori text of the story.

[2] The fullest collections of proverbs are those of Sir Geo. Grey and W. Colenso, v. infra. Other are given by E. Shortland, *Trad. and Superst.*, 1854, 176–85 ; T. H. Smith, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxii, 111–18 ; E. Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 99–101, *N.Z. Year Book*, 1901, 532–3 ; Hare Hongi, *Maori-English Tutor*, 126–31. A sociological study of a number of these sayings, more particularly in relation to economic affairs, has been made by the present writer, "Proverbs in Native Life," *Folk Lore*, June and September, 1926.

[3] E. Shortland, op. cit., 180.

[4] W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xii, 118 ; Buck, ibid., liii, 445.

" Food provided by others merely tickles the throat ;
Never is it equal to that gained by one's own exertions, the best and most satisfying of foods." [1]

Laziness is reproved in no uncertain terms by many proverbs, of such tenor as the widely known saying :—

" *Hohonu kaki, papaku uaua.*"
" Deep throat, shallow muscles."

William Colenso, who travelled extensively in the North Island in the early years of last century, and who had an intimate knowledge of the native character, notes that he often heard idle conduct reproved with a cutting proverb, and that with good effect.[2]

The appreciation of poetry was great among the Maori of former times and the compositions of this kind which have been preserved for us are very numerous. Despite his intense love for the art, however, the native kept one eye on the practical realities of the economic situation. Thus after recording a number of the efforts of one Piki, a prolific song-writer of Tuhoe, who lived some generations ago, Best remarked on the poetic gifts displayed by this man. " Yes," said the native informant, " but I think he must have been a very lazy man."

The interest taken by the Maori in work, and the high regard in which craftsmanship was held, is still further attested by the manner in which the fame of an expert was broadcasted and handed down to succeeding generations. Thus certain old-time natives of the Urewera are said to have been especially adept in the use of the stone adze,[3] while Te Whenuanui (the first of that name) is still spoken of by his descendants as having been a famed maker of *tiki* (a greenstone neck ornament).[4] So also with women in weaving : the names of famous artists were long remembered. Thus when a *koeke* (expert) watched a certain

[1] Best, *Maori*, ii, 425. Cf. also Shortland, op. cit., 180.

[2] Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xii, 113. Colenso acutely remarks that some of the traditional incidents in the oldest Maori legends undoubtedly have reference to industry in relation to agriculture. For example, " that of their favourite and beneficent hero Maui catching and binding the sun to prevent his travelling so fast ' *so that man might have longer daylight to work in* ' ; and that of another hero named Tamatea, who ' first set fire to and burnt up the rank vegetation of tangled weeds and jungle *that men might have a clear space of ground wherein to grow food* ' " (*T.N.Z.I.*, xiii, 7) (italics in original). Colenso, in stressing the fact that the tale bears directly on some economic activity, shows that he had perceived something of the real function of the myth.

[3] Best, *Stone Implements of the Maori* (D.M.B. 4), 11.

[4] Ibid., 34.

skilled old lady make ornamental cloak borders, he remarked, "*Whakairo ana a Te Wahamu*"—"Te Wahamu is weaving," this being the name of her great-grandmother, a famous craftswoman.[1] The mantle of any such noted artists also tended to settle over their descendants if the latter continued to practise the craft. No doubt the special knowledge of technique imparted from parent to children was of great assistance in upholding the family prestige. Families, villages, and tribes gained a reputation for skill in various branches of work, as Ngati-Tarawhai of Arawa, who have produced some notable carvers, and Ngati-Pukeko of the same people, who are noted for their prowess in dredging freshwater mussels.

With all the respect for work in general, and praise of ability displayed in it, this did not prevent a differentiation in the social standing of various types of employment. To some extent this was based on practical considerations of expediency. The most important economic occupations ranked high. This is exemplified to some extent in the pride of place often assigned to the fern-root digger as a marriageable *parti*, as in the well-known game played by girls, when the question is asked: "What is your husband?" The reply gives him as following one occupation after another, but each is rejected till the turn of the fern-root digger comes, who receives the prize on account of the regularity of the food supply which he can provide.[2] It should be borne in mind that the social status was here attached to the employment rather than to the person, as with the lack of any great specialization each man was continually changing his task. Prestige of a more definite kind accumulated around occupations which required the endowment of certain special gifts in the person who practised them. So the arts of carving and tattooing and the professions of canoe-builder and house-architect (to use a somewhat pretentious term) were rated high. Employments demanding no special qualifications tended to rank lower in the scale of social values. But a distinction of more vital import in the Maori economy was that made, not from expediency or from the recognition of exceptional talent,

[1] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxi, 640.

[2] E. Shortland, op. cit., 137–8. Cf. the proverb given by Grey, and the story on which it is based (*Whakapepeha*, iv–v). Both of these have evidently a common source. Cf. also the proverb quoted by Best, "*Ka ora karikari aruhe, ka mate takiri kaka*"—"Fern-root diggers survive when parrot-snarers perish" (*Maori*, i, 427).

but by the rules of *tapu*. Put broadly the point may be stated thus : every man in Maori society had some degree of personal *tapu*, varying according to his rank and becoming very intensive with the more important chiefs. Cooked food and all things connected therewith were the very antithesis of *tapu*, and contact with them was sufficient to destroy the *tapu* of any object, however sacred. Hence no man possessed of any self-respect would engage in cooking, or collect firewood, nor, since the most *tapu* parts of his person were his head and back, would he carry burdens of cooked food. Such work was left to slaves, who had lost their *tapu*, and to women, who did not have any. (The latter part of the statement is perhaps too sweeping ; it does not apply to ladies of rank ; but the *tapu* of women was certainly much slighter than that of their male relatives, and in esoteric lore woman was viewed as distinctly destructive to the *tapu* of man.) There is then this cleavage in the domain of work ; the two opposed sets of occupations separated by the gulf of mystical belief.

It is tempting to pause and inquire into the foundations of this idea of things *tapu* and things *noa*—the spheres of the Sacred and the Profane, as Durkheim calls them—in economic life ; to ask why certain things and occupations must be treated with care, surrounded with due ceremony and regarded as "prohibited", while others are "common", free from any sanctity and, indeed, are potentially destructive to that of the other type. But there is space here for only a brief observation. It seems clear that such ideas cannot have originated merely in the guile of the male, who in his attempt to shuffle out of the drudgery of monotonous and unpleasant work, invented the fiction of his own sacredness and the destroying powers of menial tasks. The whole complex framework of ideas is too fundamental and deep-rooted in the social scheme to rest simply upon a utilitarian invention. Nor can it be correlated merely with the social recognition of the value of certain classes of objects to the community in promoting its survival. There is no doubt but that the ritual ceremonies and beliefs in regard to the whole cycle of food production, for instance, can be associated on their positive side with the basic fact of the perception of their social value. And the element of uncertainty attached to such activities undoubtedly favours the maintenance of the magico-religious attitude. But though this might account for the absence of

tapu in such prosaic occupations as cooking or firewood-gathering, where the incalculable factors are of no great concern for the result or for human welfare, it does not adequately explain the strong negative influence which these are believed to possess, their destructive effect upon the *tapu* of persons and things.

For the present this must suffice ; a somewhat fuller treatment of the problem of *tapu* will be found in Chapter VII, in relation to the economic side of Maori magic. The main point which it is desired to make here is the fact of this differentiation of employment by the native upon mystical grounds, in addition to those of practical importance or talent.

There was, however, no clear hierarchy of occupations among the Maori. Certain of them were regarded as being especially fitted for men of rank—as carving—and others as indubitably degrading to the status of a person, and suited only to menials—as cooking and the carrying of food. But the unspecialized nature of Maori work was against any elaborate grading of employments, and beyond this no sharp social differentiation was made. All industry, apart from the menial tasks, was dignified, and was accorded its meed of respect and admiration by the people.

This deep interest taken in work, the commendation of it in proverb and in song, as well as by public opinion, the close attention paid to quality, the admiration of skill, the wide fame accorded to acknowledged experts and the preservation of their names in tribal memory—all this comprises a definite social attitude in favour of industry. The practical effects of this in economic life are not difficult to see. The existence of this strong positive attitude with all its social weight provided a very useful stimulus to individual effort and gave a distinct fillip to the productive energies of the community. The psychological aspect of this, in its reaction upon the individual workman, has been dealt with in the previous chapter. Its effect from the point of view of the society and of the work done is treated in the following pages.

Springing from this appreciation of the social value of human industry is a certain exaggeration, a tendency to exalt work and its results for their own sake. Hence we find the over-elaboration of technical implements beyond their primary purpose, an extension of the utilitarian into the decorative. The carving of tool handles, the beautifying of cloaks, the ornamentation

of canoes and storehouses is of this order. The care devoted to securing quality in the product goes beyond its manifest aim and occupies itself with giving an extra polish and refinement to the work. And one may observe how the additional refinement and decoration of the object tends to receive expression in standardized forms, stamped with the seal of social approval. Such objects of super-utility, with their artistic finish and the extra meed of labour embodied in their execution, commonly acquire especial value, and are ranked among the more significant forms of wealth of the community.[1]

This over-elaboration of technique and finish receives its sanction from the community as being consonant with the whole social attitude towards industry, and in fact as tending to reinforce it. It gives a savour and an interest to the work, both to producer and to those who handle the product, beyond the enjoyment of the utilitarian satisfaction which its possession brings.

Art and Work

This has brought us to the doors of art. For allied with the perfection of practical technique due to the craftsman's pride in himself and his powers of manipulating tools and shaping material, is that super-refinement of the work which is the outcome of æsthetic impulses. This leads to the deliberate creation of values of a frankly non-utilitarian type. The desire for artistic expression provided one of the primary motive forces in a number of Maori activities. Wood-carving, tattooing, weaving, were all regulated to a greater or less degree by such canons, and in the non-material sphere, as in poetry, music, posture dancing, and even oratory, the influence of the æsthetic emotions was a fundamental factor.

It is not my intention, happily, to engage in a detailed discussion of Maori art, but simply to make a few observations on its relation to industry and economic life. These are concerned chiefly with decorative art : the beautifying of objects of utility and the enhancement of the person. How comes the wealth of ornament which we find lavished on the objects of Maori material culture ? Not only were consumption goods—to use the economist's term—such as houses, war canoes, floor mats,

[1] Cf. e.g. Malinowski, *Argonauts*, 89–91.

weapons, and cloaks beautified, but the accessories to production were often decorated as well. Hardly a tool was seen without a scrap of carving on the butt, or a ring around the haft. What bearing has the ornamentation upon the production of the article? Karl Bücher is of the opinion that the artistic part of the object is its primary aspect; that from such decoration grew the technical side of the activity. This well-known theory is in accord with his general view that the economic life of peoples has emerged from non-economy, that work (*Arbeit*) has been the outcome of its opposite (*Nichtarbeit*).[1] Thus he says, "play is older than work, art older than production for use." And "industrial activity seems everywhere to start with the painting of the body, tattooing, piercing or otherwise disfiguring separate parts of the body, and gradually to advance to the production of ornaments, masks, drawings on bark, petrograms and similar play-products". There is no need to review here in detail this conception of the relation of decorative art to industry, especially as it has recently been subjected to destructive criticism by O. Leroy.[2] As the latter demonstrates by his argument there is no justification for concluding that industry is a product of art. "*Point d'art sans industrie,*" he says. The relationship is not one of historical priority at all. Both spring from impulses which exist together in the mind of the human being in society.[3]

As a result of the analysis of the psychology of economic effort in this and the preceding chapter, it is not difficult to see how the relationship of art to industry can be expressed in a way which is much more consonant with sociological reality than is the theory of Bücher. Such expressions of æsthetic sentiment as appear in the extensive ornamentation of tools and weapons do not have to be interpreted as survivals of a time when art ruled and utility had not emerged. The decoration of economic objects is the outcome of a complex set of impulses and feelings

[1] *Industrial Evolution*, 28–9.

[2] *Essai*, 79–85.

[3] A note by Leroy represents a point of view with which one can well agree: "Est-il besoin de dire que nous n'entendons aucunement substituer à la théorie de Buecher sur *l'origine* du travail une autre théorie. Nous ne croyons pas avec lui que l'activité industrielle ait *debuté* par la peinture du corps, etc. . . . et même nous pensons que cette affirmation, pour peu qu'on la presse, est denuée de sens; mais nous ne croyons pas que l'inverse soit plus vrai et que le sentiment esthétique soit postérieur à une certaine formation technique. Nous ne voyons pas pourquoi la faculté de concevoir, de fabriquer, d'orner des outils et de s'orner soi-même devrait se fragmenter et se disposer en série" (81–2 n.). It is the study of sociological relations rather than the formation of hypotheses of "origins" which is fruitful for our science.

which, though not springing from the same root, are nevertheless closely associated in their practical application with those impulses which actuate man in the manufacture of the objects themselves. The high regard for art, the increased valuation attaching to the economic product when tastefully adorned has an important effect in tending to supply an additional stimulus to effort and to reinforce the social sentiment which clusters around industry. Moreover, and especially so in primitive societies, this redounds to the advantage of art, since the sphere of economic production affords a wide field for the exercise of talent. To phrase this briefly and therefore somewhat crudely, economic production enlists decorative art in the service of promoting industry, and in return provides it with a rich field for experiment and display.

Education

We may now retrace our steps, after a fashion, to consider what was the kind of preparation which the young people of the village received in order to fit them for the labour of adult life. From the economic point of view the transmission of the technique of various crafts, the rules of work and general economic lore from the older to the younger generation is a process of the greatest importance. With the Maori, one of the central ideas of the process of education was that the youth was the property of the tribe, its coming strength, and therefore must be trained on the tribal behalf. Great attention was devoted to this work, which was undertaken by the elders.

The preparation of the child for its future duties was begun at a very early age by the recital of magical formulæ. Some of these were supposed to cultivate its receptive powers, to endow it with a clear mind and a quick understanding,[1] others, such as those of the *tua* or *tohi* ceremony with their baptismal rites, dedicated the child to its future sphere in life.[2] It was thus placed under the protection of the gods, and formulæ were recited to endow it

[1] See Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxi, 628–30, for the *karakia whakamarama*, the "spells of making clear" recited at the severing of the umbilical cord of a child of high lineage; cf. also ibid., *Maori Religion and Mythology* (D.M.B.10), 1924, 225.

[2] In some tribes these terms were synonymous; in others they signified different ceremonies. See Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology* (D.M.B.10), 225–9, for a full description of *tohi* and *tua* rites and the relation between them. Cf. also R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 184–6; E. Shortland, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 40–2; Best, "Lore of the Whare-Kohanga," *J.P.S.*, xv, 148 et seq., ibid., *J.P.S.*, x, 20; *Maori*, ii, 13–22; "Ceremonial Performances pertaining to Birth," *J.R.A.I.*, xliv, 1914, 146–58.

with health, strength, cleverness and courage, and to ensure the retention of these qualities. If a male the child was dedicated to war and agriculture, if a female to womanly pursuits. The ritual might also have a specific reference to economic occupations. For instance, a boy might be *tohia* that he should make an expert wood-carver, or a girl that she might become a skilled weaver.

An example of the type of spells recited over the child at this ceremony is given here from the rare *Karere Maori* ("Maori Messenger") of 1849.[1]

Tohi no te wai o Tu

Whano koe	*tangaengae*
Ki te mau patu	*tangaengae*
Ki te mau tao	*tangaengae*
Ki te riri	*tangaengae*
Ki te toa	*tangaengae*
Ki te tomo pa	*tangaengae*
Ki te hopu mataika	*tangaengae*
Ki te pikipiki maunga	*tangaengae*
Ki nga ngaru taitai	*tangaengae*
———	
Ki te mahi kai mau	*tangaengae*
Ki te nati whare mau	*tangaengae*
Ki e te tui waka taua mau	*tangaengae*
Ki te ta kupenga mau	*tangaengae*

Such was one of the spells recited over a male child. The priest said:—

Be you strong	*tangaengae*
To grasp the striking weapon	*tangaengae*
To grasp the spear	*tangaengae*
Strong in the strife	*tangaengae*
Foremost in the charge	*tangaengae*
First in the breach	*tangaengae*
To slay the first man	*tangaengae*
Strong to climb lofty mountains	*tangaengae*
To contend with raging waves	*tangaengae*
May you be industrious in cultivating food	*tangaengae*

[1] *Karere Maori*, 28th April, 1849, vol. i, No. 9, p. 3. The word *tangaengae* means the umbilical cord, and is also the name of an incantation to impart vigour. Williams thinks that such is possibly the sense of this refrain in spells of the above kind.

In building large houses *tangaengae*
In constructing war canoes *tangaengae*
In the making of nets *tangaengae*

. . . . .

Whilst over the girl the priest said :—

Ki te mahi kai mau *tangaengae*
Ki te keri mataitai mau *tangaengae*
Ki te whatu kahu mau *tangaengae*
Ki te whatu kaitaka mau *tangaengae*
Ki te waha mea mau *tangaengae*

May you be industrious in cultivating the ground *tangaengae*
In searching for shell-fish *tangaengae*
In weaving garments *tangaengae*
In weaving fine cloaks *tangaengae*
In carrying burdens *tangaengae*

. . . . .

All the above-mentioned ceremonies, however, were performed in detail only over children of rank. With ordinary children the ritual was much simpler. But the object in each case was the same—to give the child the requisite mental and bodily qualities to allow of its proper development. It was the magical preliminary to all effective education.[1]

As the child grew older it was taken in hand by its relatives and allowed to accompany them in their daily pursuits. Quite small children were admitted to the tribal assembly at the side of their parents on occasions of importance, and appeared to take an intelligent interest in the proceedings. They often asked questions of their elders, which were gravely answered. Marsden was surprised to see the sons of chiefs when only four or five years old, sitting among the people of rank, and paying the closest attention to what was said.[2] By this means the children were initiated at an early age into the rules of etiquette and tribal custom. Home instruction was an important element in the life of the child. The relatives, including the parents, accepted the responsibility of informing the young people of their family and

[1] It may be mentioned that to the Maori the seat of thought and also of the affections was the *ngakau*, the bowels or viscera.

[2] S. Marsden, *Missionary Register*, 1822, 248.

tribal traditions, genealogies, and relationships—a knowledge of which was indispensable to any ordinary Maori child.[1] The grandfather often took a prominent part in such education. The element of surprise was sometimes introduced to impress important information on the memory of a child. An elder person would talk to it as if angry, bringing in these matters as if they were a subject of reproach. The child, surprised and bewildered, would ask for explanations and was then enlightened as to the meaning of the words used.[2] The shock of the incident helped to keep fresh the memory of the facts.

On the whole, no great effort was made to check or reprove children for their unruly conduct. The discipline was slight, as it was thought desirable that the child should preserve its spirit unbroken, proud and fierce, the better to be able to cope with the difficulties of later life.

The games and pursuits of children were often in mimicry of the activities of their parents or, again, were of a competitive, sporting nature. These were encouraged by the elders as tending in the former case to make children familiar with the occupations of later life, and, in the latter, to develop those qualities which would be most useful to them in dealing with their somewhat stern natural and social environment. Provision was also made to promote the knowledge of useful crafts among the boys and girls. Thus a certain stone named *kohurau* was used only for making adzes for children and young people, so that by handling them they might learn the use of proper tools. The adzes for workmen were never made from this material.[3]

As they grew up boys were initiated by their father into the technique of the various crafts and the magical regulations pertaining thereto, while girls were taught weaving and the kindred arts. Boys also accompanied their father on bird-snaring or rat-trapping expeditions, and were trained by him in economic lore. Opportunity was also taken on these occasions to instruct the youths in a knowledge of tribal boundaries, family lands, fishing rocks, birding trees and other points of ownership.

Perhaps the most important branch of education was that of the *Whare wananga* or " House of Learning ". Here in the winter months a few of the young men of high rank, approved intelligence, and tested powers of memory assembled to receive instruction

[1] T. G. Hammond, *Story of Aotea*, 7.
[2] Best, *Maori*, ii, 66, for an illustration.
[3] Best, *D.M.B.* 4, 30.

in tribal history, legends and genealogies, in the most sacred mythological tales and religious rites, and also, perchance, in the formulæ of black magic, by which men were sent down to destruction. Thus, under the strictest conditions of *tapu*, and hedged in by the most solemn ceremonies, were the traditions of the tribe handed on from one generation of experts to the next. Instruction of a less sacred character was given to larger audiences in such subjects as astronomy, agriculture, fishing, and the like, which would help to fit the young men for their future responsibilities. On account of each of these subjects being termed a *whare* (house), it has sometimes been thought that a separate house was built for each course of instruction, but such was not the usual practice. They represented merely different curricula, and were given in the one building. The names of the courses and the procedure in connexion with the House of Learning varied in different tribes.[1] The importance of this institution in the transmission of culture is indicated by the ideal of the teaching. Says Best : " The object of the School of Learning was to preserve all desirable knowledge pertaining to the subjects already mentioned, and other traditional lore, and to hand it down the centuries free of any alteration, omission, interpolation or deterioration " (op. cit., 7). Any departure from old teaching was strongly disapproved of, and a slip in the imparting of knowledge might involve the death of the expert, slain by the power of the outraged gods.

The industrial education of the Maori really comprised instruction in three branches ; in economic lore, in technique, and in magic. Each was deemed indispensable to the training of the expert in any branch of work.[2] At the same time there was inculcated in him a recognition of the value of labour.

To conclude in the words of Ihaia Hutana, a Maori of the old school, " The salvation of the men of old was the attention they paid to raising children, for they knew well that safety lay in numbers and that rank could only be sustained by tribal strength. . . . When the child grew up he was taught the customs of his

[1] An excellent account of this institution is given by Elsdon Best, *The Maori School of Learning* (D.M. Monograph 6), 1923 ; cf. also John White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, i, 14 ; Te Whatahoro, *J.P.S.*, xxiv, 43 ; T. G. Hammond, *Story of Aotea*, 9–10 ; E. Shortland, *Trad. and Superst.*, 156. The unique *Lore of the Whare-Wananga* (Mem. Pol. Soc., iii and iv) from the codex of Te Whatahoro, though not above criticism, forms the standard authority.

[2] Cf. the writer's " Some Features of Primitive Industry," *Econ. Journal*, January, 1926.

people, to deliver a speech, to bear weapons, and cultivate food, to hunt and snare, and to take the products of forest, stream and ocean, to manage a canoe, to build a house or canoe ; as also the ancestral lore of his tribe, together with many signs pertaining to the weather, winds, etc. ; in fact, everything that might be beneficial and useful in after life. Indolence in a young person was severely censured, for it brought trouble to himself and to his children in later years." [1]

Mechanical Appliances

For all the artistic finish of his work, the Maori was not assisted in it by any highly elaborated mechanical devices. He did not know the use of metals, and the tools he constructed from wood and stone were comparatively simple. His actual mechanical aids to labour were very few. He used the wedge for splitting timber and the skid, though not the roller, for facilitating the transport of heavy logs and canoes on land, easing this labour with soft mud, or choosing green branches of a tree with a slimy under-bark. For tree-felling he employed a large chisel-hafted adze, resting on guides, and swung by the united labour of several men, after the manner of a battering ram. In one district an ingenious bow-propelled modification of this device was a secret jealously guarded by a few families. The bow, however, was not used by the Maori in other ways. He had a simple tackle for lifting heavy weights, as for the great ridge-pole of the *whare whakairo*. The cord-drill was employed for boring wood and stone, but it lacked the control of a cap-piece, hence the shaft wobbled somewhat, and a crater-shaped hole was produced. The fire-plough was also a Maori device.[2]

Despite the simplicity of his mechanical apparatus, however, the Maori displayed great skill in turning his economic resources to practical use. His versatility in industrial methods, his adaptation of his technique to natural conditions, the habits of animal species and the properties of substances, show him to be possessed of a considerable amount of ingenuity. Considering the meagreness of his mechanical equipment the results he attained are worthy of admiration.

[1] Ihaia Hutana of Ngati Kahungunu in *Te Puke o Hikurangi*, a Maori newspaper now defunct. (Quoted by Best, *J.P.S.*, xvi, 9–11.)

[2] For a discussion of Maori mechanics v. Best, *Maori*, ii, 192–205 ; cf. *D.M.B.* 4, 118, 126–34 ; W.B., " Concerning Stone Axes," *New Zealand Herald*, 29th August, 1926.

Observers in modern times state that the Maori displays a good deal of mechanical skill when confronted with European tools and machinery, and many writers have commented on the facility with which the native took over our steel implements and the expert way in which he utilized them. At times he has even surpassed the white man in their use. In regard to the working of timber Best considers that the genius of the Maori people lies in adzing : " Put an adze into the hands of a Maori, and he is, as it were, upon his native heath ; he will dub and dress his timber with a facility and a neatness that seems natural to him, almost an instinct, inherited from many generations of adze-using progenitors. The average European cannot approach him at such work." [1] The use of the term *instinct* here is clearly metaphorical ; the ability to use an adze is an obvious cultural trait in man. But this statement, coming from one who has had long experience of the forest and timber work, indicates the skill of the Maori.[2]

The Working Day

In considering problems of native labour the distribution of time spent in economic occupations is of interest. The working day of the Maori began early. He rose about dawn, collected his tools and went off to his fishing or cultivating to put in a few hours of hard work before the sun was well up. The first meal of the day was taken in the middle of the morning, about ten or eleven o'clock according to our reckoning. After several more hours of labour the declining of the sun—the time-signal of primitive man—warned him that the end of day was drawing near, and about three or four o'clock, if in the cultivations, he prepared to return to the village. The men carried their tools, weapons also in hand or belt, for none knew when they might be surprised by a marauding foe. The women and slaves bore loads of fern-root, or firewood, or calabashes of water. On arrival at the village the ovens were set going for the evening meal, since the Maori partook of most foods in a cooked state. Cooking was the work

[1] Best, *D.M.B.*, 4, 1912, 11.

[2] The Maori is not so renowned as an axeman. He is held to be more skilled in the use of the adze. But in France during the Great War it was found that some of the Maori Pioneer Battalion made excellent foresters—working with the axe. On one occasion they were victorious over a French team of woodsmen, noted for their skill, in a tree-felling competition, cutting timber in the French fashion, i.e. leaving only a low rounded stump close to the ground, a style foreign to the New Zealand-trained Maori bushman.

of the women. The rest of the time before going to bed was passed in games and conversation on the *marae* or in the meeting-house. The people were accustomed to retire early to sleep. Work at night was not encouraged, and was rare, especially as in some occupations it was an evil omen.

Aptitude of the Native for Work

Having discussed the need for economic effort, the attitude of the community towards it, its enhancement by artistic considerations, and the training of youth in preparation for future responsibilities, one may now consider the actual capacity of the Maori to perform work. For this no accurate psychological information is available, and the only data open to consideration are the more or less casual records of behaviour. From the observations made by various authorities it is somewhat difficult to come to any conclusion as to the aptitude of the native in this direction, since there is no great measure of agreement among them. But a comparison of these diverse opinions against the general background of the life and institutions of the Maori does tend to throw a certain amount of light upon his capacity and his methods of labour. The argument here traversed bears also on wider theoretical issues, dealing with the nature of the industry of primitive man. " Industry " in this sense may be taken to mean the quality of steady application to work, of regular labour. In this the savage is often said to be deficient. Bücher refers to " the reproach of inertia to which primitive man is universally subject ", and, though he ascribes it to want of forethought rather than to laziness, is decidedly of the opinion that the savage works irregularly, only when necessity forces him to it or he feels in an exalted or recreative mood. Steady labour is not the characteristic of the native.[1] The present survey of data will provide a useful example on which to found a critique of this point of view.

Several observers of the Maori have been struck by the spasmodic nature of his industrial life, his idleness, his volatile mind, his care-free attitude towards his work, his lack of ability to concentrate upon his task, and his failure to complete the business in hand before turning to fresh fields of adventure. The vials of wrath have been poured out on the hapless native

[1] *Industrial Evolution*, 19–21.

for this trait in his character. Here are a few opinions. Tyrone Power remarks of the Maori that they were " indolent and incapable, in their savage state, of earnest and continuous agricultural labour ".[1] Terry says, " Like all savages, in climates where, by little labour of cultivation, they can obtain food, they are naturally indolent. When stimulated to any extraordinary labour it is from sudden impulse, etc." [2] Thomson held the view that " every quality and achievement which constitutes a well regulated mind is wanting and they are deficient in habits of steady and continuous attention, of association and mental industry ".[3] He also remarks, *inter alia*, that " seeing New Zealanders' heads are smaller than those of Englishmen, the form and power of all their faculties are consequently less ".[4]

Thomas Moser, commenting on the spasmodic method of native work, remarks how they cultivate hard for half an hour, then stop for a smoke, then put in ten minutes more work, then get something to eat, and so on. And again, as an example of the inefficiency of native effort, he says, " I have seen old men sitting on the ground and digging over their gardens." [5]

On the other hand, there is a bulk of evidence of a contrary kind, supporting the view that the Maori was neither lazy nor thriftless, but was capable of steady and strenuous work. Thus Maning, who knew the natives intimately, says, " Their labour, though constant in one shape or other and compelled by necessity, was not too heavy. . . . There was very little idleness, and to be called lazy was a great reproach." [6] Samuel Marsden praises

[1] *Sketches in N.Z.*, 1849, 135.

[2] *New Zealand*, 1842, 251.

[3] *Story of N.Z.*, i, 84.

[4] Ibid., 86. One quotation, though pertaining to physical anthropology rather than to economics, ought not to be passed over. " It is ascertained," he says, " by weighing the quantity of millet seed skulls contained, and by measurements with tapes and compasses, that New Zealanders' heads are smaller than the heads of Englishmen, consequently the New Zealanders are inferior to the English in mental capacity. This comparative smallness of the brain is produced by neglecting to exercise the higher faculties of the mind, for as muscles shrink from want of use, it is only natural that generations of mental indolence should lessen the size of brains " ! This, it should be added, was written in 1859. In matters Maori Thomson is often a useful authority.

[5] T. Moser, *Mahoe Leaves*, 2nd ed., 1888, 35. With regard to this last, my father once described to me how he saw an old chief—Paora Tuhaere, I think—clearing rushes from a field. He was squatting on the ground, spade in hand, and very leisurely swung the implement at the roots of a clump, with a good pause between each stroke. This position in itself, however, does not necessarily indicate lassitude on the part of the worker ; it was a squatting, not a sitting posture as Moser says, and was commonly adopted for convenience when using the smaller cultivating tools.

[6] *Old New Zealand*, 186–7.

the industry of the natives, and Colenso speaks to the same effect of "labour, almost unremitting".[1] Nicholas, the companion of Marsden, remarks, "From all I could see of this people in the different parts I have visited, I am fairly persuaded that nowhere can be found a race who are more inclined to industrious pursuits."[2] Shortland comments upon the industry and perseverance of the Maori, and gives examples demonstrating the operation of these qualities.[3] Yate says, "Viewed as an uncivilized people, the natives of New Zealand are industrious; and, compared with their more northern brethren, they are a hard-working race. . . . They are obliged to work if they would eat. . . . Nine months in the year a great portion of the natives are employed in their grounds, and there are only two months in which they can say they have nothing to do."[4] Augustus Earle, the artist, holds the view that the Maori are "laborious in the extreme", as their astonishing and minute carvings prove, and after surveying their cultivations, he remarks once more upon their persevering industry. He points out the influence of the chiefs and their families, who set an example of work which none could refuse to follow.[5] A point of interest is made by Captain Hamilton Russell in a letter to Sir Geo. Grey of 24th June, 1847. After giving details of the work of natives on roads and the like he says, "the opinion . . . that the natives are incapable of steady industry, though said to have been derived from experience, is fallacious."[6] Swainson gives full evidence of the skill and industry of the Maori in working for Europeans, and of the good qualities of those employed in Public Works. He also mentions that at Rangiaohia the native population, including not more than 200 adult males, had 700 acres of wheat, possessed a fair amount of stock and farm implements, and ran two water-power mills for grinding flour; also, that Auckland about that time was supplied with produce by natives from over one hundred miles around.[7] W. Baucke, who knows the native well, speaks also of his industry and great labour in various activities such as the making of stone adzes.[8] These and other writers are clearly

[1] *T.N.Z.I.*, xiii, 5, 33; ibid., i, 26.
[2] *Narrative*, ii, 50.
[3] *Trad. and Superst.*, 201–12.
[4] *New Zealand*, 1st ed., 1835, 105–6; cf. also J. Cook, *Account of Voyage round the World* (Hawesworth, ii), 313.
[5] *Narrative*, 1832, 10, 18.
[6] *Colonial Intelligencer*, Mar., 1848, 233.
[7] *N.Z. and its Colonization*, 139 et seq. Cf. also Chapter XIV of this work.
[8] *Where the White Man Treads*, 8–9, 12–13.

convinced of the industrious character of the Maori, and his patience in accomplishing work.

We have thus to take account of these two differing sets of opinion, the one stressing the natural indolence and lack of sustained effort of the native, the other pointing to his industry and perseverance in his various employments. On the whole, however, and I have taken a fair sample of authorities, all first-hand, the greatest weight of evidence seems to lie on the side of the latter. Moreover, in order to appraise these statements of diverse tenor at somewhat of their true worth, it is necessary to take into account one important factor. Most or all of the observers who have commented on the shiftlessness or incapacity for steady industry on the part of the Maori have seen him after he has come under the persistent influence of our European culture. In other words, the old native set of values had been replaced, the objects of economic interest were different, much of the old communal organization had broken down, the authority of the chiefs and more particularly of the priests had been lessened, the stringent rules of *tapu* had been lifted. The former incentives to industry had vanished, and the whole setting of labour was altered. This being the case, can it be wondered at if these observers were apt to find that the Maori seemed idle, lacked ability to concentrate on regular tasks, and could only be kept at work by continual supervision? More weight can be attached to the statements of early observers such as Cook, Marsden, or Nicholas, who saw the Maori when he was little affected by European civilization, and of men who knew the native intimately and obtained accurate information about his life in former days—as did such people as Maning or Colenso in the early years of last century. All these agree regarding his industrious nature.

But for our inquiry to have any real worth, more is demanded than the mere balancing of contrary opinions—opinions often expressed, moreover, only in such vague general terms as "lazy" or "industrious". There are two salient points which emerge for consideration in this somewhat bewildering problem.

(1) Was the Maori consistently idle?

(2) If he could and did work hard, was it still in spasmodic, irregular fashion, labour alternating with periods of idleness?

To both of these questions some little space must be devoted, from their theoretical interest and practical importance. For

direct evidence as to the qualities which the Maori displayed in his work it is useful to turn to his various economic accomplishments and consider them in relation to his surroundings and material equipment.

The great size of some of his houses and canoes, their neatness of finish and excellence of carved ornament, are witness to the magnitude of his achievements. These testify, if not to his steadiness and continued application, at all events to his skill in the use of the crude tools he had at command, to his mobilization of labour power, and to his pertinacity in reducing huge trunks of trees to serviceable form. Whatever may have been the natural indolence of the Maori or his inability to work consistently at a task, the very fact that he brought to completion such works of art as the fashioning of the carved bow and stern-pieces for the war-canoe, with their intricate curves and spirals, is proof that he was capable of following to its conclusion a project once conceived.

Other occupations give proof of the same capacity. In fishing, arduous and constant labour was demanded, as in the manufacture of the giant seine nets of the East Coast, which so moved the early voyagers to admiration.[1] The construction of large eel-weirs, again, was a strenuous business, calling for active labour, while the changing of the trap in the season when the flood-waters were running swift and high was a difficult, dangerous, and unpleasant task, which called for constant care and attention.[2]

[1] J. Cook (Hawkesworth, ii, 369–70) says of one, "It was five fathom deep and by the room it took would not be less than 300 or 400 fathom long." Cf. also Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 345 et seq.; xiii, 43, 58. P. H. Buck, ibid., liii, 441, says these nets were several chains long and some were reported to have taken three years to complete. Cf. also J. L. Nicholas, op. cit., i, 234, 269; ii, 27; G. Mair, *Reminiscences*, 19–22; J. Cowan, *Maori Folk Tales of Port Hills*, 49; T. H. Smith, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxvi, 426; Crozet, *Nouveau Voyage à la mer du sud*, 61 et seq.; W. Brun, *Wirtschaftsorganisation*, 37–8. E. Tregear (*Maori Race*, 187) remarks on a funnel-shaped net 75 feet long with a diameter of 25 feet at the mouth, which was the work of a single native, who was over 90 years of age at the time.

[2] For the construction of eel-weirs see the excellent paper by T. W. Downes, "Notes on Eels and Eel Weirs," *T.N.Z.I.*, l, 296–316, 1918. He remarks, *inter alia*, that when the fish are going down river freely the *hinaki* is visited and changed every two hours throughout the night. The men who do this are quite naked, and it is cold and rather dangerous work. When a fresh is in evidence the men are often immersed nearly up to their necks when pushing the under-net into position with their feet, and it takes all the power of two strong men to hold the operator from being swept away by the fierce current. The larger weirs are as a rule about 50–60 feet long and 20 feet wide. Even after all the timber and lashings are prepared it takes four to six men at least seven days' hard work to construct even the simplest of this form of *pa tuna*. Cf. also Best, *Maori*, ii, 431–9; ibid., *J.Sc.T.*, vii, 1924, 25–30.

Eels were an important article of diet with many tribes and in certain districts great labour was expended in digging out large canals or water-channels for the purpose of capturing them. In the Wairau district of the South Island these are of great intricacy. Many of them are 10 to 12 feet wide and 2 or 3 feet deep, while they have a total length of over twelve miles.[1]

Agriculture also demanded the expenditure of much time, and its sequence of operations necessitated continually recurring effort. Clearing the plantation, breaking up the soil, lightening it where necessary with sand or gravel, digging over the ground, grubbing out roots, moulding up the hillocks, planting the seed, erecting little breakwinds to shelter the plants, keeping the ground free from weeds, lifting the crop, drying, sorting, and storing the tubers—these and other operations involved continual planning and steady labour.[2] Then these operations had to be wedged into the general scheme of economic life, in which other types of productive effort played a considerable part. As indicated by the calendar of work in Chapter II, the sequence of tasks which the Maori had to perform throughout the year kept him busy, and, when considered in conjunction with his social activities, left him no great leisure for idle rumination.

Many other examples could be adduced to show that the Maori of old was possessed of a considerable degree of energy in industry, and for some time, at all events, could work hard and well. Moreover, the diversity of his employment prevented him from having inordinately long intervals without occupation. The stigma of persistent idleness cannot be attached to him.

Now to come to our second point. A number of writers, and among them some of the most authoritative, while admitting that the Maori was by no means idle in former days, are yet of the opinion that he has never been capable of performing con-

[1] W. H. R. Roberts, *Maori Nomenclature*, 59; cf. also C. W. Adams in his report as Chief Surveyor of Marlborough (*Dept. Lands and Survey Appendix*, viii, 1902–1903); ibid., *J.P.S.*, ix, 169; W. H. Skinner, ibid., xxi, 105–8; G. Mair, *T.N.Z.I.*, xii, 1879, 315 et seq.; T. H. Smith, ibid., xxvi, 1893, 429; Best, ibid., xxxv, 1902, 79 et seq.; A. K. Newman, ibid., xxxviii, 1905, 131–2; E. Tregear, *Maori Race*, 107; G. F. Angas, *New Zealanders Illustrated*, pl. lv, No. 2.

[2] E. Shortland, *Trad. and Superst.*, 202. Marsden on his first visit noted "They suffer no weeds to grow, but with incredible labour and patience root up everything likely to injure the growing crop" (*Hist. Records of N.Z.*, i, 369). Angas states that during certain seasons of the year the natives were constantly at work in their gardens (*Polynesia*, 154); cf. also W. Colenso, "Vegetable Food of the New Zealanders," *T.N.Z.I.*, xii, 3–19; Walsh, "Cultivation and Treatment of the Kumara," ibid., xxxv, 12–24. The authoritative work on the subject is now the valuable monograph of Elsdon Best, *Maori Agriculture* (D.M.B. 9), 1925.

sistent labour in one field for any great length of time. His volatile temperament, it is said, leads him to work in bursts of energy, but is not conducive to life in a steady and settled occupation. The native is contrasted in this respect unfavourably with the European, who is able to concentrate on one task and complete it without needing constant change of surroundings.

It may be granted at once that this opinion seems to be borne out by a considerable amount of evidence, and in so far as we are in a position to generalize, it may be accepted as substantially correct—at least as regards the native of to-day. But before the conclusion is taken unreservedly to apply to the Maori either of the past or of the present, certain qualifications should be introduced.

It is somewhat difficult to obtain a concise expression of the current view for analysis, since it is more often given as a verbal opinion than set down in print. But it may be fairly adequately summed up in the phrase once used in the *Otago Daily Times* newspaper, that the Maori has a "constitutional indisposition to work". Such is the popular conviction, held by most New Zealand settlers, and also by men who have come into more than superficial contact with the native.

The loose way in which the term "*constitutional*" is used may be passed over. What seems to be meant, as one gathers from discussion, is innate or biological endowment. The Maori is held to possess this mental trait as part of his psychological equipment in such a way that by no effort of education or training can it be eradicated. His industrial life will always be characterized by this lack of consistent application—such is the current view.

But on the question of innate capability of the native race our evidence is far too slender for any definite opinion to be maintained. Such conceptions as "race" and "mental capacity", though catch-words for the politician, are difficult problems for the scientist. The field of Maori psychology is as yet quite unexplored, and until an extensive series of careful observations and tests has been carried out, no generalization regarding the innate mental endowment of the people can be accepted as vital.

What is possible of proof, however, is that the lack of steady application and failure to concentrate on work can be correlated with definite social circumstances.

In the first place, since the anthropologist must so often

concern himself with data from recent observations, it will be well to discuss two modern causes which help to account for this so-called constitutional inability to do consistent work.

One of these has been well set forth by an educated native, Mr. H. Parata, in a pamphlet dealing with the character and prospects of the Maori people.[1] After showing that in ancient days the natives performed intensive labour and accomplished economic tasks of great magnitude—their physical fitness in itself constituting a proof that they must have worked consistently and hard—he points out that a large percentage of such work as sheep-shearing and bush-felling is done by the Maori to-day. He admits that the natives do not work to the extent that the *pakeha* does, but rightly stresses the fact that they are not so desirous of obtaining the European luxuries. The work of the natives, on the whole, is adequate to supply their simple wants, and this done, they are content. Why should they imitate the white man, set up work as a god and toil for that which they do not keenly want ?

This is a point of more than local interest ; it is of importance for the general study of the problems of native labour. The Maori standard of comfort is different from our own. The native does not ask for all our civilized products, he is content with the satisfaction of his needs for food, clothing and shelter, with the addition of a few subsidiary pleasures. The standard of comfort in the native homes differs greatly, of course, in the various districts, and also in individual cases. But setting aside the influence of inherited wealth—mainly derived from land—there is a distinct correlation between the standard of comfort and the pursuit of a steady employment. The practical inference seems fairly clear, that if we can succeed in raising the standard of comfort of the Maori by inducing him to conceive new wants from among the attractive budget offered him by civilization, then an increase in the quantity and regularity of his labour will follow.[2]

At the same time there is something to be said for the present state of things. For the Maori, being a sensible man, does not feel impelled to put in extra labour to secure articles for which he has no real desire. The raising of the standard of comfort

[1] *The Maori of New Zealand, Past, Present and Future*, 1911, 16–19.

[2] The effect may be complicated, as too often happens, by a diversion of the gains of labour from the more to the less culturally useful objects—as from ploughs and fencing wire to motor-cars and gramophones.

does not always mean a corresponding increase in human welfare —a point of view which has its advocates even in our civilized communities. A simpler scheme of economic wants has distinct advantages. Yet the fetish of work—work for its own sake, not grounded on human welfare—is still worshipped in many quarters, as being intrinsically more worthy than recreation or rest. Such is not the philosophy of the Maori, sitting with his pipe in the sun. He utilizes his time in a manner which accords most closely with his desires. His erratic habits of labour and his periods of inactivity are not necessarily due to any innate biological disposition, but are the result—in part at least—of this lack of conformity to our scheme of civilized wants. He has worked out a different social and economic adjustment to life.

Another factor of importance to be considered is the removal of the former stimuli to labour—a point previously touched upon. With the decay of the old system of economic organization through the influence of European culture, the incentives to effort which were inherent in that organization largely ceased to operate. Communal pride, the influence and example of chiefs, the guidance of the priest, and the regulations of *tapu* all lost their power, with the result that slackness and inefficiency rapidly increased. And the widespread belief in the speedy disappearance of the race fostered a fatalistic and apathetic outlook, which reacted strongly upon industry. To this absence of incentive can be traced much of what is termed the indolence of the Maori, or his want of application. Marsden remarked at an early date that the natives did not seem to lack industry, but only a proper object to stimulate them.[1] Cheeseman [2] contrasts the former patient, careful, and expert agricultural work of the Maori with their present somewhat slovenly and unmethodical efforts, while Archdeacon Walsh has some good notes on this subject in his essay on the "Passing of the Maori". He points out that in pre-European days every kind of work was organized and regulated. The people worked under proper direction, the activity was co-ordinated by the efforts of priest and chief, backed up by the force of the *tapu*. In this way each person bore his share of the common burden; punctuality was secured, the work was lightened and performed with cheerfulness and hope. But as the authority of the chief and the power of the *tapu* declined, the co-operative spirit passed away. In agriculture

[1] *Missionary Register*, 1816, 118. [2] *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxiii, 307–8.

the crops were put in too late, or under the wrong weather conditions, and were neglected while growing. The consequence was that the Maori became disheartened and the work was done in slovenly and abortive fashion.[1]

The effects of this lack of incentive have been noted by Best in similar style. Though possessing large areas of fertile land, the native makes little use of them, and displays a lack of energy and enterprise. Carelessness and inefficiency have replaced the old ordered industry of the Maori.[2]

In the preceding paragraphs I have shown that indolence and the absence of steady labour on the part of the modern Maori can be most properly attributed, not to the influence of of some vague innate tendency, but to definite social causes, for which the European contact is largely responsible. If now one turns to the old-time native, it is found that certain aspects of his habitual mode of work must also be correlated with his social organization, rather than with any special innate endowment.

Thus the practice of which he is accused of pursuing a somewhat haphazard succession of employments, never pausing long with one, unable to concentrate but always seeking change, is quite explicable when referred to his general economic structure. In a society where there was no great division of labour or specialization of employments, where each man carried on work in a number of fields, there was scope for the principle of variety in occupation to come into play. When the craftsman was tired or bored with his job, he turned to another, and so was able to work with renewed zest. The beneficial effects of a diversion of attention when the interest flags are well known to psychology. By following this principle the Maori revealed, not a sheer inability to do consistent work, but an appreciation of the element of flexibility in his economic system.

Again, it is argued that despite the industry displayed on occasions, as in agriculture or fishing, the working period of the Maori in former times was really very broken. A few days' hard work was succeeded by a time of leisure and feasting ; the reception of guests, marriages, *tangi*, exhumation ceremonies, *muru* expeditions, sport and war all took heavy toll of the year. And nowadays the Maori is often blamed for dropping his work in a half-finished state and going off to attend the *tangi* (funeral

[1] Walsh, *T.N.Z.I.*, xl, 154.

[2] Best, *Maori Agriculture*, 15.

ceremony) of some relative who has died. His conduct is again ascribed to his inborn lack of the faculty of continued application. The facts are largely true, but it is doubtful if the inference be correct. It must be remembered that in former time feasts, games, carnivals, and even war expeditions were not indiscriminately arranged affairs, but were planned to fit in with the gaps in the working seasons of the year. The common period for fighting was after the planting of the crops; another slack time was after harvest. But an even more important point to note is the social compulsion which attached to so many of the non-economic activities. Attendance at such a function as a *tangi* is not simply a matter of consulting one's individual convenience; deliberate absence from the ceremonies implies a slighting of the dead and his relatives. Such defection is remembered. Some indication has already been given of the reality and strength of the bonds of kinship in Maori society; they entailed definite obligations upon every individual. Examination of all these events which distract the native from his work reveals the social compulsion which lies beneath them. In abandoning his task the native is complying not so much with the dictates of a volatile mind as with a set of deeply-felt obligations. This must be borne in mind before any strictures are passed upon him for his incapacity to endure steady and solid work. I should like to make it quite clear that I am not trying to make out a case for or against Maori industry; my problem has been to define in precise terms the character of Maori work, and the extent to which the native had to be industrious.

To review now the argument of this section—it is clear that the epithet "idle" cannot be justifiably applied to the Maori people of ancient days. The range of their economic activities and the success with which they pursued them demonstrates that they were in the habit of performing work of a most strenuous kind. It is true that the native labour was to a certain extent spasmodic. But the irregularity presented by the constant transfer of effort from one occupation to another was very largely a correlate of the non-specialized economic system, which allowed the worker to diversify his interests by a change of employment when fatigued. Again, the alternation of work with periods of leisure and of pre-occupation with other affairs gave an erratic appearance to his industry. But the broken working time is partly due not to any inherent lack of ability to do consistent

work, but to the compulsion exerted by the social bonds of the group of which he was a member. In more recent times the effect of the white man's culture is largely responsible for the decay of native industry. In other words, the defects of the Maori in his industrial life can be traced to social circumstances rather than to innate mental make-up. If this be so then there is promise for his economic future. Education, the provision of new leadership, and above all, the rise of fresh incentives are capable of renewing the spirited, organized, and methodical industrial effort which tends to economic prosperity.

The general problem in the wider fields of primitive economics has been barely touched upon in this discussion, but it is evident that the conclusions here reached are capable of a more extensive application. The " reproach of inertia " to which primitive man is often subjected does not carry so much weight when the conditions of native industry are analysed.

Chapter VI

THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK

Ma pango, ma whero, ka oti.
By black and by red it is finished.

(When commoner and chief work together the task is done.)—*Maori Proverb.*

In this chapter we have to deal with one of the most fundamental and important questions in the field of economics. In every community people must unite to provide themselves with the means of satisfying their wants. Either they follow different lines of work and come together in order to enjoy some portion of each others' product, or they engage in some joint pursuit and share their gains. Not only is organization necessary to avoid chaos in work, but it also affords one means of securing a fuller satisfaction of needs from available resources.

In view of the importance of the problem of economic organization it is rather surprising that so little attention has been paid to it by anthropologists. Of the technology of industry there is ample record, but as to the means by which this technical equipment is made effective, the observer is generally silent. Even A. A. Goldenweiser, who has devoted some attention to primitive economy, is not immune from this criticism. In his discussion of the means of environmental control among the Eskimo he says with truth that they have worked out their salvation with a remarkable degree of ingenuity and success. His analysis of how this is done resolves itself into a description of harpoon, sledge, kayak, igloo, etc.[1] But the account of the technical details involved in the construction of these objects of material culture is robbed of much of its value when no mention is made of the economic system which enabled these things to be created. Moreover, organization of industry is indispensable for their utilization. Yet he omits to describe the co-operation of hunters in the chase, the principles of apportionment of the game, the economy of the family group, and the mutual assistance afforded in village life, all of which are as indispensable to an effective

[1] A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, pt. i, chap. i.

economic system as an adequate technology. Such neglect of a vitally important aspect of culture reveals the need for a deeper study of the whole economic basis of life in primitive society.

The most widely discussed aspect of the organization of production is probably the division of labour. Information on this score is usually given by ethnographic observers, but the somewhat loose way in which the term is used often makes it difficult to judge of the precise nature of the facts. If the meaning of the concept be analysed it is found to include two types of phenomena : separation of employments, and separation of processes within the employment. The former occurs when various members of the community engage each in a different occupation, and turn out every man a different finished product. Thus some make tools, others clothing, some grow corn and others build houses. By separation of processes is meant the splitting up of the different portions of work within an occupation, so that each man contributes towards the manufacture of the same finished product. Thus in the building of houses, one man dresses the timber, another puts up the framework, and a third does the thatching.

Some economists tend to restrict the use of the term division of labour to this second aspect alone, i.e. to specialization in the different processes of an employment. But there is no real objection to using the term in the broad sense to cover both types of phenomena, provided always that the distinction is borne in mind, and the precise meaning made clear.[1] The term is so employed in its wider significance in these pages.

Maori Division of Labour

Among the Maori there was no very intricate division of labour, such as occurs in the highly complex social structure of the " civilized " community. The fairly simple character of economic wants did not necessitate any great diversity of occupations to satisfy them, and every man was able to master something more than the rudiments of the principal crafts. Entire absorption of the working powers of the individual in one industry,

[1] For standard treatment of the concept of division of labour see R. I. Palgrave, *Dictionary*, i, 608–11, and the classical treatises of F. A. Walker, J. S. Nicholson, Alfred Marshall, E. Cannan, etc. For a concise general treatment of the problems of division of labour in primitive society, see Section on " Economic Life ", *Notes and Queries in Anthropology*, new edition.

or in a single process of an industry, was rare, if not unknown. At the same time division of labour on a limited scale, both as regards separation of employments and of processes, was not absent.

Misleading statements on this head are sometimes made. A. S. Thomson, writing in 1859, held that there was no division of labour among the Maori except that between the sexes.[1] S. Percy Smith says that the old Maori system differed from ours ; there was no division of labour ; each man could do or make all that was required to sustain life.[2] But both of these statements need some qualification. Among men, for instance, there were specialists in certain crafts, and in the more important industrial activities the work was split up, various processes being undertaken by different groups of experts. Examples of this will be given in the latter part of this chapter, showing plainly that division of labour among the Maori was not purely a matter of sexual differentiation of function.

Division of labour occurred in a manner that is broadly characteristic of all primitive society, sex, age, and rank each playing a prominent part in determining the distribution of tasks.

I. Division of Labour between the Sexes

The division of tasks on the basis of sex may be treated first. Some occupations were performed jointly by both men and women, working together, but the greater number of them fell into two separate groups, each forming a sphere of work into which members of the other sex did not intrude.

The following table indicates in brief scope the general nature of the work performed by either sex.[3]

[1] *Story of N.Z.*, i, 209. D. Duncan in Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, Div. I, pt. 2A, Table xiii, 1925 ed., follows him in this misconception, as in others. He arrives, for instance, at the surprising conclusion that the average number of persons in a tribe was eighty-two.

[2] *Peopling of the North*, 81.

[3] For detailed information on the division of labour, cf. Crozet, *Voyage* (Ling Roth), 65 ; J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative*, ii, 35 ; J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs*, i, 163, 201–2 ; A. Earle, *New Zealand*, 110 ; W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 8 et seq., ibid., xiii, 8 ; E. Shortland, *Trad. and Superst.*, 161 ; E. Dieffenbach, *Travels*, i, 163 ; John White, *Ancient History Maori*, iii, 230 ; Potts, *Out in the Open*, 16 ; Walsh, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 14 ; J. C. Johnstone, *Maoria*, 36 ; J. A. Wilson, *Te Waharoa*, 51 ; E. Best, *Maori*, i, 400–2, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 72 et seq., ibid., xxxi, 639 ; Te Rangi Hiroa, *T.N.Z.I.*, lvi, 622. In the Table occupations which supplement each other or are parallel have been set down as far as possible side by side. The references here given are to specific occupations rather than to general statements.

TABLE SHOWING DIVISION OF LABOUR BETWEEN SEXES

Men's Work	Women's Work	Joint Occupations
Bird-spearing and snaring.	Bird preserving (occasional snaring).	Fowling.
Rat-trapping.	Preserving rats.	
Climbing forest trees for fruits.	Collecting forest foods from ground.	Collecting forest foods.
Sea fishing.	Cleaning fish.	
Diving for *paua* (*Haliotis*).	Gathering shell-fish.	Fishing.
Freshwater fishing.	Freshwater fishing (certain species).	
	Procuring crayfish.	
	Drying and preserving fish.	
Building eel-weirs, making pots, traps, nets.		
Breaking up ground for cultivation.	Breaking up clods.	
	Weeding.	
	Carrying of gravel.	
Planting.	Planting (some districts only).	Agriculture.
Harvesting crops.	Harvesting crops (some districts only).	
Digging fern-root.	Collecting dug roots.	
Felling trees.		
Building houses.		
Making canoes.		
Carving.		
Making tools, implements, including weapons, working in stone and nephrite.	Making twine, needles, etc., for own crafts.	
Making ornaments of wood, bone, nephrite.		
Tattooing.		
Making dogskin or *kiwi* feather cloaks, *taniko* work.	Weaving of garments and plaiting of mats, etc., including dogskin, feather cloaks and most of the *taniko* work.	
Manufacture of musical instruments.		
Preparation of pigments, dyes, and oils.	Preparation of scents, dyes, sachets, etc.	
Preserving human heads.		
	Cooking.	
	Making food baskets.	
	Serving food.	
	Gathering and breaking firewood.	
	Carrying water.	
	Care of the house.	
Performance of economic magic.		

A few remarks may now be made to amplify the schematic form of the Table.

In general, the common principle obtained : the men attended to the more energetic, arduous, and exciting occupations, while the women engaged in the more sober and somewhat more

monotonous tasks. This was the case in regard to the most important department of economic life, the food quest. Most of the occupations which revolved around the procuring of food called for strength, daring, and initiative on the part of the men, and for patient, rather dull labour on that of the women. To the latter also fell the majority of tasks connected with the preparation and consumption of food. Thus one can contrast the bird-snaring, the rat-trapping, and the tree-climbing of the men with the work of the women in cooking and preserving game, or in collecting ground products or the berries from low shrubs. In certain cases the snaring of birds seems to have been done by women, who were allotted the trees easy to climb, but this was not a common practice. Digging rhizomes of the fern—a heavy job—was done by the men, while they were then collected by the women and carried home for storing. Fishing out in the open sea, again, was an occupation restricted to men, whereas women often caught certain freshwater species, such as the *kokopu*, and gathered all kinds of shell-fish, save the *paua* (*Haliotis*), which the men obtained by diving.

There were certain occupations limited to one sex alone. Thus women did not participate at all in carving, the building of houses, and the manufacture of canoes, and had to keep away when greenstone was being worked. Tattooing was performed upon both sexes, but the operators were always men. On the other hand, cooking, the carrying of water, the collecting of firewood, and the plaiting of food baskets were tasks reserved for women, though this restriction did not apply to slaves. Strong elements of *tapu* entered into the delimitation of all these occupations. Weaving was a characteristic woman's task, though the making of dress cloaks, ornamented with dogskin or *kiwi* feathers, seems to have been occasionally done by men.[1] It was accounted no disgrace for a warrior to go through the *whare pora* (school of weaving) for such purposes, and he might enter there also to be taught *taniko* work and the art of drawing and colouring the painted patterns which adorned the rafters of superior houses.[2] The performance of economic magic was a sphere of activity restricted to men. Women had their own budget of charms for use in weaving, and had to observe omens

[1] W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xiv, 1881, 470 ; G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes*, i, 322 ; J. S. Polack, *New Zealand*, i, 389.

[2] Best, " Art of the Whare Pora," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxi, 1898, 639.

and certain rules of *tapu*. But the important items of magic in a craft, the *karakia* of *mana*, the most potent spells, were recited by a male expert. The magician as an economic specialist was always a man.

In a number of occupations the line of demarcation was not very sharply drawn, and both sexes might undertake such work. The collection of fruits such as the *karaka* berries, the preparation of pigments, dyes, animal and plant oils, and the making of cordage, twine, and needles seem to have been carried on fairly indiscriminately by men or women whenever such things were required by them. And in such an activity as the hauling of a large log from the forest, women as well as men were welcome to " tail on " to the ropes and pull.[1] Agriculture presents an interesting case of joint work and the dove-tailing of employments, and illustrates the principles which regulated the division of labour on the sexual basis. Contrary to the custom which prevails among many primitive peoples, the cultivation of the soil was not solely an occupation of the women. Both sexes worked together in the fields. At the same time this represents no indiscriminate aggregation of labour, but an economic partnership and division on well-defined principles. The rougher work of clearing the ground, felling trees, or lopping branches was done by the men, as also the heavy labour of the initial breaking-up of the soil with long-handled digging-sticks (*ko*). Their efforts were supplemented by those of the women, who helped to burn the brushwood, to pulverize the clods with short cultivating tools, to grub the earth for roots and to till it finely. In planting the custom varied with different tribes. The *kumara* always had a certain amount of *tapu* pertaining to it, and in those districts where it was cultivated most extensively women were barred from participation in planting lest they have a destructive influence on the crop. Such was the practice on the East Coast. On the West Coast, however, the observance does not seem to have been so strict, and women took part in this operation. The same applies to harvesting the crop.[2] The onerous task of weeding was performed almost solely by female labour, assisted perhaps by that of male slaves, while the withdrawing of the first tubers before the main crop was ready was done by a few skilled old women.

[1] J. Stack, *Kaiapohia*, 182.
[2] Best, *Maori*, i, 400 ; ii, 389 ; *Maori Agriculture*, 80–3, 90, 99, 115.

From this survey of the type of work allotted to either sex, conclusions of some interest may be drawn. In the first place it is quite clear that the Maori woman was no drudge. It has been said of the New Zealand native as of so many other primitive peoples, that all the heavy and menial tasks were thrust upon the woman, while the man contented himself with the lighter and more amusing work, varied with a little gentle dozing in the sun. Such is not true of the Maori, any more than it is of most other relatively primitive peoples.[1] The women certainly worked hard, and such tasks as the carrying of firewood and weeding of crops tended to make them appear bent and aged before their time. But the men performed their share of the heavy labour. Tree-felling with a stone adze, breaking up virgin soil, or digging 20 ft. deep ditches with a wooden spade, are tasks which call for strength and endurance. In short, the division of labour between the sexes, while giving each a considerable share of fatiguing toil, was of a fairly equitable character. And a glance at purely household arrangements tells the same tale. Reciprocity of tasks between husband and wife was the economic motto of the family.

The brief sketch of occupations given above enables one to distinguish the basic principles which underlie the apportionment of work between the sexes. It may be emphasized first of all that the division of labour in Maori society was firmly rooted in custom. Every boy and girl was destined from birth to pursue a definite economic career, each very similar in the case of members of the same sex, and embracing a traditional set of occupations. Magical ceremonies of endowment, physical training, games, and education all bore direct reference to this end. But the customary and traditional lines of partition of industry between the sexes were not altogether arbitrary and incomprehensible. Beneath the crust of tradition one can discern several principles, which, though by no means purely rational in their outcome, yet conform to practical considerations. This is seen in the distribution of the physically more exacting employ-

[1] Cf. Shortland, *Trad. and Superst.*, 161, and the theoretical analyses of R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 71 ; A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, 259 ; O. Leroy, *Essai*, 70 ; P. W. Schmidt and P. W. Koppers, *Völker u. Kulturen*, 164 seq., 402 seq. These writers are all of opinion that the division of labour between the sexes in primitive society is on the whole an equitable arrangement. Cf., however, B. Malinowski (*Family among Australian Aborigines*, 281–91), who shows that in Australia the work of the woman is harder and more systematic than that of the man and is largely compulsory. This economic position can be correlated with the wandering life of these aborigines.

ments. Occupations in which the bodily strain of the work was most intense, which demanded the greatest strength and output of energy, were managed by men. As mentioned, in agriculture they tackled tree-felling, breaking up the ground, and kindred tasks, while the women were concerned with the subsidiary work, such as crumbling the clods, grubbing roots, and weeding, which imposed a less severe strain upon them.

Combined with these considerations of physique are the factors of initiative, daring, and love for excitement. Women did the routine work, the less dangerous things, those which required little initiative. The contrast of deep-sea fishing with the collecting of shell-fish, of climbing forest trees to the outermost slender branches to set snares and collect berries with the gathering of fruits from the low shrubs, indicates the difference in this type of activity. "A tree-climbing expert is food for roots" runs the proverb, pointing to the danger of being killed in the more spectacular occupation. Thus the work which provided a spice of excitement and risk tended to be reserved for men.

This must not be taken to indicate a rigid partition of Maori industry on the basis of a differentiation of physique and mentality between the sexes. As Lowie points out, the division of labour in a native community is largely conventional, i.e. it cannot be correlated with the specific physiological characteristics of the sexes. But there is among the Maori nevertheless a certain implicit correspondence, which might receive explicit formulation were natives questioned on this subject.

Beyond this point the irrational factor of supernaturalism enters in. Most occupations were associated to a greater or less degree with some form of *tapu*. This at once qualifies the entry of the female sex therein, for woman as such was viewed as distinctly antipathetic to the higher forms of *tapu*. Hence in many tribes the planting of the *kumara* was done by men alone, the *tapu* of eel-weirs forbade the presence of women at their construction, and if a woman took part in the making of a sea-going canoe, it was almost enough to sink the vessel, by depriving it of that magical virtue so essential to its seaworthiness. This barrier was strictly enforced by the traditional rules and supernatural pains and penalties.[1]

[1] The evil effects of female interference were much aggravated if the woman were at her menstrual period. Even if such a person visited a cockle-bank to collect shell-fish—a woman's task—she would cause them all to vacate it and

In observing the interaction of these principles of physiological differentiation and irrational belief in the division of labour it is worthy of note that among the occupations which were proscribed to women on supernatural grounds were most of those which entailed the greatest physical strain.

II. Division of Labour by Age

The most important tasks in the Maori economy were naturally performed by people in the prime of life. At each end of the scale of years there were various minor employments which fell to the lot of children on the one hand and aged people on the other.

The children assisted their relatives in many technical occupations, and so helped to get their training. For instance, in the sawing of greenstone youngsters were often enlisted to feed sand-grit and water to the cut, while the men sawed with their flint blades. They also took a subsidiary part in communal work. They collected soft mud in kits and smeared it on the skids when a canoe was being hauled over a portage, and in preparation for a feast, as I was told by a Kawhia native, they were sent off to collect dry branches for firewood. Being largely free from the irksome restrictions of the *tapu*, which were not imposed upon them till riper years, their sphere of activity was much less sharply defined than that of the adults. At the same time they were quick to learn the ordinary observances of economic life. For the first-born children of chiefs more care was necessary, since they were always surrounded by an aura of *tapu*, even from birth. Such children generally had a commoner or a slave to attend them and to perform menial tasks. Such were the *pononga* (servants, not necessarily slaves) mentioned in tales.

Old people who were past the prime of life did not remain in idleness, but occupied themselves in work requiring no great expenditure of energy. Old women plaited baskets and aged

the bank soon to become unproductive. Nowadays the belief in *tapu* has very largely passed away from the young folk, who are therefore a source of anxiety to their elders, by many of whom it is still held to a moderate degree. When a new meeting-house is being built, for instance, the carvers, who are generally old men, have a worried time keeping the girls out of the building before it is completed. If they are allowed to enter they break the *tapu* and may thus spoil the work. But modern feminine curiosity recks little of this, to the annoyance of the builders.

persons of both sexes made twine and cordage of all kinds for nets and snares. Besides grinding and fitting stone implements old men spent much time in rubbing down greenstone into adzes and ornaments. Such work was monotonous, but not heavy; it gave them occupation, soothed their nerves, and had this advantage, that they could cease and begin again whenever they felt so inclined. But the active life which the Maori led in olden times often kept him fit to a surprising age—if he managed to survive the rigours of war—hence carving or net-making by the men and weaving by the women were continued even in very advanced years.[1]

III. Division of Labour according to Rank

The broad division of labour according to rank has received incidental mention in the preceding chapters. The general economic position of chiefs, commoners, and slaves in work may now be surveyed in order to bring out the main principles involved.

As might be expected, the most unpleasant and dull work was assigned to the slaves. They drew water, carried firewood, bore loads of food and gear, helped in the cooking, and did much of the paddling of canoes. All this was in conformity with the not incomprehensible principle that no one will perform unpleasant work without special incentive if he can make other people do it for him. Moreover, the provision of a certain class of persons to carry out the disagreeable but necessary tasks of the society affords a greater opportunity to others to develop the finer arts of life. There is much to be said for the point of view that slavery promotes culture.

The treatment of slavery by Nieboer in his classic monograph bears upon the Maori phenomena. He finds that the great

[1] Some instances of Maori longevity are given by T. W. Downes, *History of and Guide to the Wanganui River*, 25. To select a few of these: Topine te Mamaku, died in 1886, buried at Makakote, aged about 101; Taumata, died at Parinui, aged about 110; Tuku, generally known as Te Kooti's butcher, died at Papakai, said to have been 130. For many years before his death this man was carried into the sun. His skin appeared like polished parchment stretched over a frame. Kai-te-manunui died in 1910, buried at Parinui; a tablet gives his age at 100. The age with which natives are credited is, however, often over-estimated. But Wiha, died in 1916 and buried at Tawata, was a great, great, great-grandfather, hence his alleged age of 95 is not improbable. Tregear again (*Maori Race*, 10–11) notes that Te Matengu, of Hawkes Bay, in 1887 nursed his descendant of the sixth generation—also that Patuone of Ngapuhi died at the age of 108, and Te Heru died at 115. Both of these men talked with Captain Cook. Cf. also Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 6.

importance of this institution lies in its effects upon the division of labour.[1] Developing some ideas put forward by G. F. Puchta,[2] he points out that the great function of slavery is to provide for a system of compulsory labour, and that the kernel of the institution lies in the entire absorption of the personality of the slave to this end (op. cit., 7–8). Thus we have the distinction between serfdom, vassalage or similar institutions, and slavery proper. Both of these types existed in Maori society. The former was marked by the obligations laid on the subject people to render tribute or perform certain fixed services, whereas the mark of the slave was that he was the property of his master, whose power was in theory unlimited, and who could demand what services he wished.

In speaking of conquered tribes among the Maori, their status is sometimes wrongfully described through a failure to maintain this distinction. Thus when the aboriginal tribe Te Manu Koau were taken under the protection of another tribe and were set the definite task of bird-catching, they were reduced to a state of vassalage, but were not enslaved.[3] Again, W. E. Gudgeon says of an "enslaved" tribe that apart from bringing occasional presents of food to their masters their life went on in much the same style as before—they still remained a tribe, though they were under the *mana* of another tribe.[4] There is the same confusion of terms ; those people were clearly vassals, not slaves. The institution of vassalage, however, is of no great importance in the economic life of the Maori, save for the tribute which it afforded to the chiefs of the superior tribe.

To return to slavery—not only did the slaves perform the drudgery as such, but they also had an important function in Maori society as being a class of people who were free from any attributes of sacredness, and so could attend to the degrading tasks connected with cooking and the bearing of burdens. A slave had no *tapu*. Even though he had once been a chief in another tribe his capture removed from him the *mana* of the gods, and in things spiritual he ceased to count. Hence cooked food and all its adjuncts had no destructive effect upon him. For some of the most vitally necessary tasks, then, the presence of the slave was essential ; a chief might conceivably be surrounded

[1] H. J. Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System*, The Hague, 2nd ed., 1910.
[2] G. F. Puchta, *Cursus der Institutionen*, 9 aufl., 1881.
[3] J. A. Wilson, *Te Waharoa*, 149. [4] W. E. Gudgeon, *J.P.S.*, iv, 24.

with food, and yet starve if no slave were at hand.[1] Hence the amusing situation which arose on these rare occasions in tribal quarrels of a not very serious nature, when one party succeeded in carrying off the women and slaves of the other. The warriors of the latter, bereft of all who could feed them, were obliged to sue for peace.

The slave was not forced to perform excessive labour. If he had the heavy *tapu*-less tasks to perform, he was also saved from participation in other work, such as canoe-making, because of its *tapu*.

The economic value of the slave to the community was considerable. This has been recognized by Lowie, who expresses the opinion that slavery was the " pillar of the Maori state ".[2] Letourneau, on the other hand, considers that slavery in New Zealand was defectively organized and without great importance.[3] This is also rather the opinion of Nieboer, who holds that the slaves in Maori society were formerly of little economic use.[4] These latter opinions cannot be really upheld. Slavery among the Maori is certainly not comparable to the system as it existed among the ancient civilized states of Europe, but relative to the culture of this native people, it played an important part in their life.[5]

Nieboer has been led perhaps to minimize the function of slavery as it appeared among the Maori by reason of his view as to the origins of that institution. For him the greatest significance in Polynesia attaches to the appropriation of the land. Where all the land in a community has been appropriated, and landless freemen are to be found, then there will be a supply of workers ready on demand, and men need have no recourse to slavery to obtain extra labour power. But in a community where areas of land still remain unappropriated, then every able bodied person can take up land for himself, cultivate it, and so gain sustenance. Hence no man will voluntarily serve another ; if labour is required it must be slave labour. Such in brief is his argument. And from this he is of the opinion that slavery among the Maori existed in consequence of the areas

[1] For examples see F. E. Maning, *Old New Zealand*, 114–18.
[2] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 346–7.
[3] *L'Évolution de l'Esclavage*, 1897, 179.
[4] Op. cit., 409.
[5] The statement of Thomson to the effect that the slave-class comprised about one-tenth of the population must be regarded as a mere guess. The actual proportion of slaves to freemen varied greatly in each community, and no census was possible.

of land not yet appropriated. There are several points of criticism which might be made against this view, but one only need receive mention here. Nieboer attaches great importance to economic factors in conditioning the existence of slavery, and rightly so. But they do not always provide a sufficient explanation of the phenomena. In New Zealand there is no reason to think that slavery was bound up in its origin with cultivation and unappropriated land. The background of the institution must be sought, not merely in general economic conditions alone, but also in the whole scheme of magico-religious ideas centring around food and its preparation, as well as in the complex set of customs and emotional attitudes relating to war.

The provision of slaves by the Maori chiefs did not mean that they themselves escaped work. They took a pride in showing their industry, they set the example in agriculture and other labour, and they were responsible for much of the work in connexion with large canoes and superior houses.[1]

To a certain degree they contented themselves with the finer and more interesting tasks, such as carving or the making of ornaments. The preparation of food was part of the woman's sphere of industry, but in the household of a chief the work of pounding and cooking fern-root was left to the female slaves, while their mistress preferred to pass the time in weaving or in overseeing their toil.[2]

The extent to which the people of rank performed the more laborious tasks lay very much at their own taste and discretion. Thus it was said in praise of the old chief Te Hapuku Ngaruhe of Te Aute after his death, that he was never idle. He admired the old proverb of his fathers which says " Short finger nails show the rank of a man of power ", so that invariably he joined in with his people when they began to plant. Again, it was a favourite amusement of his to make the eel-pots for use in the Poukawa lake, which was an eel-fishery that he greatly prized. Not even in the days of his full *tapu* as a chief would he resist

[1] A. Earle (*Narrative*, 110) remarks that none but men of rank were allowed to work on a war canoe, and that they laboured like slaves at the heavy task of shaping it from the rough log, with fire and stone tools.

[2] Cf. Dumont D'Urville (*Voyage au Pole Sud*, tom. ix, 137), " Les femmes étaient occupées à préparer les pommes de terre, le poisson et les coquillages destinés à leur nourriture ; d'autres faisaient avec du *phormium* quelques nattes et des paniers. Toutes recevaient les ordres de la femme du chef, qui était assise en plein air et qui commandait les travaux avec la dureté d'une matrone."

the demands of his household needs. He was even seen to mend the pots in which cooked birds were preserved, an act which he might well have escaped on the plea of being contaminated thereby, if he had been so minded. Instead, he demonstrated his industry by undertaking such labour cheerfully.[1]

An incident in native warfare, however, shows that chiefs ordinarily preserved certain rules of dignity in work. A chief of note, being surprised by the enemy in a sudden attack on the village, had the wit to shoulder a couple of eel-pots before beginning to run. Being thus taken for a common man, he was allowed to escape unpursued.

Colenso remarks that in many occupations, notably in agriculture, the chiefs worked equally with the slaves, and often better and more energetically. From their youth they were taught to excel in all pursuits, and in economic as in other affairs they strove to keep up their fame.[2]

On the whole, the dignity of chieftainship removed a person from the most tedious and spiritually degrading occupations, but gave him no dispensation to pass a life of leisured ease. Rank with all its privileges still involved a division, and not a repudiation of labour.

The factors of difference in sex, rank, and age affected most deeply the division of labour in the matter of separation of employments. Work within an occupation was apportioned somewhat with these criteria in mind, but of greater social importance was the manner in which whole types of activity were barred to people, or imposed upon them in view of their status in this respect.

The Specialist

The division of labour in regard to industries and to processes within an industry leads to corresponding specialization, the concentration of a man's powers on one particular type of work. The complete organization of the industry of a society along these lines is limited by the extent to which a system has developed for making the product of the different sets of craftsmen available to one another. In the household a certain degree of specialization of tasks as between man and woman is made possible in

[1] *Te Wananga* (Nepia), 1st June, 1872. No. 22, Puka 5.
[2] Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 11; cf. also J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs*, i, 52, 54.

a simple way by reciprocal use of the goods obtained by each partner. But in the wider sphere, generally speaking, some definite system of exchange of products is required to allow of any considerable degree of specialization of tasks. Hence we find in Maori society that correlated with a somewhat rudimentary system of exchange, there is no great amount of real specialization. No clear-cut system of trades has in fact developed.

Karl Bücher is of the opinion that specialization is always absent among primitive people. He starts from the conception of such a society as being organized purely on the basis of a household economy—where it is not in the pre-economic stage—with the dualism of function of husband and wife as its ruling principle. Where the labour of the household is insufficient to satisfy the economic wants, neighbours are called in to assist, or the work is performed in concert by the whole village community. This being the case, there is no scope for professional craftsmen, since the same work is carried on uniformly side by side in every household. Any reports which have been made as to the existence of specialized workers such as net-makers, stone-borers, and wood-carvers in the South Seas, he ascribes either to specially gifted individuals having come under the notice of travellers, or to the fact that such industries were in reality carried on by the tribe as a whole, every man or every woman being skilled in the craft.[1]

But the closed household economy represents a state of society which does not correspond with the reality of life as we find it in most primitive communities. And with this must also be rejected the view as to the absence of specialized handicrafts. On this point the Maori evidence is quite definite. Specialization in industry, though not highly developed, indubitably existed. In every Maori community there were a number of people who, through inborn skill or special training, possessed greater ability than their fellows in certain types of work. A man of this kind became a specialist, in that while not necessarily devoting the whole of his time to the one craft he made it his major interest, and was peculiarly expert therein. Such people were valuable,

[1] *Industrial Evolution*, 55–7. A couple of actual quotations will serve to illustrate his point of view. "Each household has to meet all economic requirements of its members with its own labour; and this is accomplished by means of that peculiar division of duties between the two sexes." "The working and refining of the raw products does not lead to the development of distinct trades, in that such work is carried on with uniform independence in each separate household."

and were called upon by others less skilled to perform work for them. The transmission of technical and magical knowledge in closely guarded fashion, as from father to son, also tended to favour the creation of specialized crafts.

A point of interest is that specialization in primitive economy cannot occur so readily in the seasonal crafts. A man who is skilled in the snaring of birds, for instance, may devote himself largely to this work, but it cannot be practised all the year round, so he must find other occupations to support himself for the remainder of the time. It is in the constant employment, for the product of which there is a continual and steady demand, that the most favourable opportunity offers for specialization. Hence it is natural to find that among the Maori the persons who really did devote the major portion of their time to one craft were makers of stone adzes, wood-carvers, house and canoe builders, and above all, perhaps, tattooers.

In the case of stone adzes, there was a steady demand for such implements in all types of work. And as Best points out, every Maori was not an expert in making such tools. A few persons by practice acquired skill in the work, gained a reputation, and were thereupon commissioned by others to fashion them an adze or a chisel. This was paid for by the gift of a garment, a parcel of food, or an ornament. Such was the case also in other specialized occupations, the craftsman receiving compensation in the form of a gift for the expenditure of his time and skill.[1]

Some undertakings employed a number of specialized workers. Thus according to Polack the making of a large canoe required the services of carpenter, flax-dresser, painter, caulker, carver, and sail-maker.[2] A real expert in carving or tattooing was held in great repute, and might be asked to travel to a considerable distance to exercise his skill—for a consideration. Thus Cruise in 1820 saw at the Waikare River, Bay of Islands, a man engaged in carving slabs for the front of a storehouse, and was told by the chief that the expert had been brought from the Waihou River (Thames), distant about 200 miles, for this purpose.[3] Some of the most celebrated carving specialists were reputed

[1] See Best, *Maori*, i, 402 ; *Stone Implements of the Maori*, 16, 46, 85, 131–2, etc.

[2] *Manners and Customs*, i, 224. But Polack, bearing in mind the European system of trades, has probably over-emphasized the element of specialization here.

[3] *Journal*, 2nd ed., 1824, 25.

to live in the Waiapu and Turanga districts of the East Coast,[1] and were sought there by other tribes who required their services. Yate observes that some of the expert tattooers seemed to spend much of their time travelling about from village to village, practising their craft.[2] The same author remarks of the *kaitaka* garments—the finest made—that they required from three to four months close sitting to manufacture, and measured sometimes as much as 9 feet by 7 or 8, with a deep rich black and white border, fancifully woven, the natives of the South greatly excelling those of the Bay of Islands in such work.[3] The Taranaki district, too, was always celebrated for the immense quantity and fine varieties of flax it produced, as also for the quality of the cloaks which were made there. It is said, indeed, that more than one *taua* (war party) journeyed to those parts from the north in former times to obtain these garments.[4] Such facts, supported by the evidence in regard to wood-carving and canoe-making, indicate the regional specialization of crafts which obtained to a certain degree.

The same occupation might be carried on by successive generations of craftsmen, the technical knowledge being handed down from father to son. In this way specialization tended to become hereditary; a certain family in the tribe might act for instance as makers of adzes and other stone implements for the community. Among the Tuhoe people, Best states, the art of wood-carving was practically confined to the descendants of three brothers, known as the Whanau-pani, who lived about 250 years ago. The knowledge and use of a curious bow contrivance for tree-felling is said to have been restricted to a few families of the Arawa and Tuhoe people, who kept it a secret as far as was possible.[5]

The generic term *tohunga*, comprising all experts or skilled persons, served to denote a specialist in any occupation. The term is also used to include the various grades of priests or magicians of the community, but to restrict its meaning solely to this class of person is incorrect.[6] The different kinds of

[1] Polack, op. cit., 228. [2] *New Zealand*, 148–9.

[3] Yate, op. cit., 157–8. G. F. Angas notes that the tribes of the East Cape were particularly skilful in producing these garments (*Polynesia*, 157).

[4] S. Percy Smith, *Taranaki Coast*, 127. [5] Best, *D.M.B.*, iv, 129–32.

[6] Best, *Maori*, i, 243–4, gives the significance of the term in its varied meanings. Brun, *Wirtschaftsorganisation*, 54, recognizes its general application, but in describing all *tohunga* as "*Lieblingen der Götter*" (Darlings of the gods) he over-emphasizes their religious affiliation.

experts in the economic field were called by various descriptive terms. Thus a *tohunga whakairo* was a carving or tattooing artist; a *tohunga whaihanga*, an expert in building; a *tohunga tarai waka*, a canoe adzing adept; a *tohunga ta moko*, a tattooer, and so on. Such specialists had a great store of technical knowledge derived from competent training, and much experience in their craft. In the working of timber for a house, for instance, the final dressing was a matter for some care and attention. The "bite" of the adze as it "took" the timber left a faint mark across the grain, while the slight curve of the cutting edge made a shallow depression in the wood. By accentuating this and spacing the stroke regularly, a series of marks was formed on the surface of the timber. The object of the workman was to leave the final surface in such manner that these marks formed a distinct and pleasing pattern. Such patterns were greatly admired and were of several kinds, each having its own name. This *whakangao* process, as it was called, was work requiring great steadiness and dexterity in the use of the tool, and was done only by experts.[1]

The facts just adduced provide an illustration of how technical ability helps to determine the division of economic functions. Not only is it a factor of importance in deciding the manner in which people come to be distributed over the various occupations, but it has a much greater influence in leading to separation of processes within the occupation itself.

For specialization to be of any avail, there must be some

[1] Best, *Stone Implements*, 119, 123, 135, 140, 154; *The Maori Canoe*, 61, 62, 70. The explanation of these patterns is not quite consistent. Thus Best says, "a house-post is often seen with the two patterns known as *ngao-tu* and *ngao-pae* adzed on its surface, the former being upright and the latter horizontal, though both are the same form of pattern. These zigzag or herring-bone patterns are worked alternately on the face of the timber from top to bottom, first one and then the other." (*Stone Implements*, 135.) And again he describes *ngao-tu* as the "upright herring-bone pattern of adzing". (Ibid., 154.) But later (*Maori*, ii, 579) he describes *ngao-pae* as the pattern made by the straight horizontal row of tool-marks and *ngao-tu* as the vertical row, and says "a herring-bone design was also employed". This is rather a confusion of terms, but the latter description is evidently the more accurate. What is meant is that *ngao-pae* is the pattern with the horizontal marking emphasized and *ngao-tu* is the pattern made with the same stroke but with the vertical marks stressed. Each, when both are conjoined on the one slab, forms one element of a herring-bone pattern. This corresponds to the literal meaning of the terms themselves and to Best's illustrations. But to describe *ngao-tu* as an "upright herring-bone pattern" seems to be confusing the final pattern with one of its elements. Archdeacon H. W. Williams assigns a totally different meaning to these terms. In his *Dictionary*, *ngao-pae* is distinguished as being work with a coarse finish, and *ngao-tu* work with a medium finish, the former being executed with a large and the latter with a medium sized adze.

means of integrating the various kinds of activity. In the larger enterprises this was done under the command of a leader, with the inducement of reward in the shape of gifts and food. In individual employments the products of the specialist were made available for distribution by an embryonic system of exchange, flourishing in the guise of reciprocal presentations. In other types of work the principle of mutual assistance was followed, labour being repaid, not by gifts, but by labour. Such a system was freely utilized by the Maori, especially in cultivation.

Organization in Typical Activities

Organization in industry presents two salient aspects—the division of functions and the co-ordination of effort. We now turn to consider how this latter is effected by the Maori in a number of different types of work on a varying scale of achievement.

The main principles of the organization of labour may be exemplified in the consideration of a number of modes of fishing, more particularly as regards the arrangement of the working team in each.[1]

(1) To begin with the simplest type of organized activity—that which requires the co-operation of two persons. A good example of this kind is provided by the *koko* method of catching the *kehe* fish as described by Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck).[2]

In some fishing grounds there are rocky channels up which the fish come to feed, and it is from this that the fisherman takes his cue. When using the *koko* method two men set out, one bearing a broad leaf-shaped scoop net on a handle, the other a pole about 9 feet long. The man with the net is the expert who knows the lie of all the channels, their depth, and the best stands from which to manipulate his net. Making a detour to avoid walking up a channel and so scaring the fish, he reaches a stand, and places his net in position, holding it so that it blocks the channel as far as possible. His assistant meanwhile is waiting with the pole near the end of the channel. Then the word is given "*Kokotia mai* (prod hither)". On the order the assistant walks across to the mouth of the channel and begins to work up it, prodding in front of him with the pole, and sometimes

[1] Both for vividness in narrative, and because such methods are still followed in modern days, the present tense is used in description.

[2] Te Rangi Hiroa, "The Maori Craft of Netting," *T.N.Z.I.*, lvi, 1926, 615–16.

striking the surface of the water with it so that the splash may startle the fish. These dart up the channel to escape. When the net-wielder feels one bump into the net he twists it up, at the same time calling out to the assistant to stand still. After the fish has been taken out and threaded on to a cord the word is given to begin again, and so the affair proceeds. When one channel has been worked through, the expert directs the way to another.

This indicates the principles which underlie any efficient results in work involving division of labour on the part of people jointly engaged in a task. In this case the nature of the conditions necessitates the assumption of different functions by each of the two persons. And for this division of function to be effective in its aim, their activity must be co-ordinated, made to correspond as regards place and time. Synchronization of movement is essential. This can be managed either by mutual arrangement or by one person taking command of the activity.

To secure the efficiency of the work mutual arrangement may not always be adequate; and it becomes essential for someone to assume definite leadership. This involves exercise of responsibility and powers of command which tend to supply more effective integration. In the example of fishing just given, the net-bearer, as a rule, automatically becomes the leader. He is the expert and, incidentally, usually the elder, and upon him devolves the duty of ordering the movements of his assistant.

The nature of leadership varies according to the type of activity, and, as we shall see, it is in co-ordination of the complex processes of communal work on a large scale that it reaches its highest development.

(2) Other types of activity beyond the scope of two persons are performed by several people in concert. Such is the case in a simple mode of catching a freshwater fish, the *upokororo* (*Prototroctes oxyrhyncus* Guenther).[1] By one method a shallow rapid is chosen and two walls of stones roughly piled up are built out in the form of a V-shaped race, sometimes extending to the banks of the stream, and leaving an open space in the middle. In this a hoop-net is fixed. The fishers then proceed up-stream, each armed with a bunch of brush or a pole, on the end of which is attached a bundle of fern or a leafy branch. The *upokororo*, which go in shoals, lie by day in the deep pools. The fishers

[1] Best, *Maori*, ii, 449; Te Rangi Hiroa, op. cit., 636–7.

enter the water and with great splashing and beating of the surface drive the fish downstream and on to the rapids, where the current carries them into the net.

Another method is to choose a projecting sand-spit or shingle bank, and to excavate therein a shallow channel leading from the stream. A wall of stones is then run out into the current, and thus causes the water to flow into the channel. The fish are driven downstream as before and chased into the channel. After they have entered, they are held there by a person at the outer end, while the others busy themselves in demolishing the wall of piled-up stones that dams back the stream. On the release of the water the channel becomes dry and the fish are left stranded, to be captured with ease. (See Diagrams, Fig. 4.)

The description of these two methods shows how simple co-operation is effected in small-scale activities. A similar type of organization is displayed in various other food-procuring pursuits. A certain differentiation of economic function is involved on the part of the workers—thus one man must hold the fish while the others demolish the wall—but no great effort of co-ordination is required The leader is probably the senior man present, or, in any event, the one who is most skilled in this type of work. His position is, however, rather ill-defined. There is no great opportunity for specialization as between the different processes of the activity.

A remark may be made here on the composition of the working group in the olden days. Often the people constituted what may be termed an *impromptu group*, i.e. they simply assembled from the village for the purpose of fishing, and then broke up after the affair was over. They came together by some form of spontaneous arrangement, it may be, even, on the spur of the moment.

In other cases the members of the fishing party constituted a *permanent group*, i.e. they continued to go out together time after time. In such case they usually did so by virtue of their common membership in some other social unit. In the type of food-producing activities just described the party often comprised the members of a *whanau*, a family group—or the male portion thereof. In fishing from a canoe, in rat-trapping, in cultivating, or in the taking of birds, this was the economic group most often engaged. The building of small eel-weirs was usually a family affair. There was in Maori society a definite tendency for the

kinship principle to pervade the economic grouping—or, to look at the question from the other angle, for the kinship group to exert comprehensive economic functions.

The reason is not difficult to see. The social ties which already existed tended to obviate the formation of new types of grouping for purposes which the old type could fulfil equally well. The recognition of kinship bonds and the realization of economic needs grew side by side. Hence we find that the economic grouping tended on the whole to resolve itself along these lines.

It may be suggested that there is also a certain correlation between the fixity and durability of the material apparatus necessary for the proper accomplishment of the task, and the complexity and permanence of the economic organization of the people engaged in it. Needing but few technical implements, and those quickly made, a group can readily asemble and disperse. But if a large amount of gear of a specialized and durable kind is necessary, then stronger social ties are created around it, connected with ownership, use, and maintenance, and tend to make the group more stable than in the former case. The users of a fishing canoe, for example, are apt to constitute a more permanent economic group than the persons who assemble for the sport mentioned above.

(3) The size of the economic group involved altered, of course, with the scale of the activity. A variation of the type of fishing in rocky channels previously described lends itself to the co-operation of a larger party of workers.[1] In deeper water these channels in the reef still exist, but the method of standing and holding a net, and walking along the channel with a pole, is no longer practicable. But as the *kehe* fish are often abundant there, the difficulty is surmounted by using a longer handle to the net, and by swimming and diving instead of walking. The best spots for fixing the net are well known. The expert swims out to one of these and diving down sets the point of the net in position. Then, coming up to the surface, he maintains pressure on the handle, and so keeps it from bobbing up. Meanwhile his assistants, of whom there is a band, have taken post on nearby rocks, or have swum into position, so that they form a large arc facing the net. The expert gives the word: "*Rukuhia*! (Dive!)" Those furthest away dive first, then the others, judging their distance in turn so that they will come

[1] Te Rangi Hiroa, loc. cit., 617.

down the various channels simultaneously and converge to drive the fish into the net. The first man to reach it seizes it by the tip and brings it mouth upwards to the surface. Quite good catches were obtained in this way. Such was a much more spectacular method than the ordinary one used in shallow water, and was carried out with great *éclat* on ceremonial occasions. It was only employed by the Whanau-Apanui people of one district, but the character of the organization is typical of a large number of economic activities.

Here the position of the expert is clear. He is the director of the work. He it is who knows all the channels, sets the net, posts his assistants, and gives the word to dive when all is ready. His work of control is of a relatively simple nature. The body of workers whom he has to direct have all practically the same task to perform—to take position, dive, and come along the channel to the net. Nevertheless his leadership is essential to the efficient performance of the task. In this case his work of supervision allows him and in fact requires him to be on hand; the expert, though he has a different function to perform, is yet an actual participator in the activity.

With increasingly large or complex economic efforts involving the labour of great numbers of people or intricate dove-tailing of work, the nature of leadership may have to undergo a change. The controller may have to supervise the activity from outside, not from within the working group. This point will receive elaboration later in this chapter.

(4) Conditions of interest are provided by the operation of one of the enormous seine nets mentioned in the previous chapter. The hauling of them required a large staff of workers and competent direction. A brief description of the spectacular fishing display made by a chief Te Pokiha with his great net in 1886 as condensed from the account given by Captain Gilbert Mair, illustrates the manner of organization of such an important economic enterprise.[1] The net used in this affair was a huge one, measuring by veracious report, 95 chains in length. It was made at Maketu during the winter months of 1885, by several hundred of Ngati-Pikiao of Arawa, on the initiative of their chief Te Pokiha Taranui. The net was taken in sections to a flat below the village and was there set up with appropriate

[1] G. Mair, *Reminiscences and Maori Stories*, 19–22. Cf. J. Cowan, *Maori Folk Tales of the Port Hills*, 49.

magic by the learned old men of the tribe. It was of such size that no single canoe would hold it, and it was therefore taken out on a platform placed over two war canoes lashed together, the whole being propelled by thirty men. The control of the enterprise was in the hands of one Te Whanarere, an expert in fishing, who in order best to supervise the workers, ascended to the top of a high telegraph tower near by, and thence gave out his commands. Shoal after shoal of fish he allowed to pass untouched, while crew and waiting crowd grew impatient, but the old man was wise in the lore of fish and nets. At last he gave the signal to encircle what appeared to be an insignificant brown patch on the water. "*Haukotia mai*!" came his cry. "Intercept it!" The paddles dipped furiously, the craft forged along, and the net was paid out by six men. After the shoal was encircled a great portion of the net was still unused, but nevertheless it was found impossible to haul the seine, in spite of the large numbers of people who hauled on the ropes. The catch was too great. The unused part of the net was now doubled round the remainder, and the expert came down from the tower and swam out to attend to the work. Under his direction the men hoisted the belly of the net, and so allowed a large part of the catch to escape. This was done twice, and only then could the seine be hauled in to the beach. It was held there by stakes driven firmly in, and the tide allowed to fall. Meanwhile, owing to the *tapu*, the people were not allowed to partake of food—which certainly tended to focus their interest on the work! The resulting catch numbered many thousands of fish, and its apportionment was supervised by Te Pokiha himself.

This illustration shows the different functions performed by those who took part in the work—the makers of the net, the paddlers of the canoes, the six men who paid out the net, the people on shore who lent a hand in hauling it up, and the expert, whose business it was to direct and supervise the operation. Then, finally, in the leading role, as giving the initiative and stimulus to the whole enterprise was the chief himself, whose prestige the affair helped greatly to enhance all along the coast.

(5) Of organization of fishing on a still larger scale an excellent example is provided by the spirited description of R. H. Matthews,[1] who in 1855 took part in a large shark-fishing expedition which was undertaken by some of the Rarawa people

[1] *T.N.Z.I.*, xliii, 598 et seq.

of the north. The description will be given here at fair length, because of the number of points of interest to our inquiry which it reveals.

In those days shark-fishing was looked upon as a great sport and as a valuable means of adding to the food supply. A number of traditional customs and regulations were strictly observed, and rigidly enforced by penalties for infringement. The season for taking the dogfish (a small variety of shark, or perhaps the young of certain species) was restricted to two days only in the year, and a person who killed one after this was liable to the process of *muru* (i.e. to have his goods plundered in compensation). No one was allowed to begin fishing before the signal to start was given, and for a violation of this rule the canoes of the offenders were split up.

At that time the *mana* (authority) over the deep waters was exercised by Popota Te Waha, who had inherited it from his ancestors. He it was who issued notice of the catching, and fired the signal gun from his head-quarters to notify the other camps of fishermen that dogfish would be caught that night. In all, there were people from half a dozen villages assembled, with a muster of fifty canoes. As each had a crew of about twenty there were at least 1,000 people engaged, in addition to the many who remained in camp cooking and drying shell-fish. As a rule most of the wives accompanied their husbands as *kai whangai* or " feeders ", i.e. as baiters of hooks, etc., thus helping to increase substantially each man's catch.

In the village there was a busy scene, as the canoes were being fitted out. Some old women scraped *muka* (flax fibre), others made it into twine. All along the landing place were canoes of all sizes, from the small *tiwai* (fishing canoe) to the large *waka taua* (war vessel). Several of the latter were surrounded by workmen, some lashing on the bow-piece, with its ornamental figure, others fastening on the elaborately carved stern-piece, while others again fitted and lashed the top-strake. Carefully selected leaves of *raupo* (bulrush) were placed over the joints inside and out, and clamped firmly by lashed battens. All the holes were filled and caulked with *raupo* down. The thwarts were placed in position and carefully lashed. A separate gang of workers was engaged in making the sections of movable platforms to go in the well beneath the thwarts. All was animation and gaiety.

While their elders were at work on the canoes, the young people amused themselves with various games. In the evening the elders and principal visitors assembled in a large *whare* and engaged in the re-snooding of the hooks and the discussion of the merits of shape and bend.

The next day several canoes with nets were sent down-river to catch mullet for bait and also for food. A visitor from Popota's camp arrived with the news that the fishing would take place on the following day if the camp was well furnished with bait—for it was the custom to wait until all the camps were well provided. About midday the canoes returned with a large catch of fish, which was quickly served out. By this time the overhauling of the canoes was finished and the experts pronounced them ready for sea. Stones were sorted out for anchors, and ropes fitted, while some men made short wooden clubs with which to kill the fish.

The report of the signal gun at once caused a commotion in the camp, followed by a shout of " Light the oven fires ! " The canoes were quickly launched with gear aboard. Soon after sunset the order was given to start, and off the canoes went, to the refrain of "*huka, ka huka*". This is a light and quick stroke of the paddle intended to churn the water into foam rather than to give much speed. The canoes paddled leisurely along, the men reserving their strength for the great race and struggle of later on—for there was always great competition to secure the first fish. On arrival at the rendezvous the fleet was found in position. The new canoe took up its allotted station and kept it, as did the others, by the aid of a long pole stuck in the mud. All waited for high water, indulging meanwhile in loud talking and laughter. It was believed that the strong spring tide swept immense numbers of sharks into harbour, and far up the rivers and creeks, so that when the tide ebbed, the returning fish were intercepted by the fleet.

As the time of high water approached, the talking ceased, and there was a dead silence throughout the fleet. Presently the chief of the observer's canoe whispered "*Kua whati te mata o te tai*", " the tide has turned ". Almost immediately afterwards Popota stood up in his canoe and shouted out in stentorian tones "*Huakina* ! " Charge ! " Then followed a most exciting race for the fishing ground, and for the *mataika*, the first fish—always of great symbolic significance to the Maori. All through

the fleet natives were shouting "*Hoea, tiaia, toia patua, ana kumea*" or, roughly translated, "Stick it in, drag it along, press it down, haul it along—" rhythmic shouts of encouragement to the straining paddles. The last two words mark deep, strong strokes of the paddle, and the word *ana* is to have the effect of making the stroke more strenuous. Thus at the words "*ana toia, ana pehia*", etc., every ounce must be put into the stroke. It was a brilliant moonlight night, and the whole fleet could be seen racing furiously for the channel, shouting, yelling, and cheering as they went.

As soon as the channel was reached, the anchors were let go, waterproof cloaks were tied around waists, and thrown across shoulders, and the already baited hooks were dropped over. Almost at once a cry of "*Kohi, kohia*!" "haul in!" came from a nearby canoe, followed by a shout which announced that they had secured the first fish. Presently one of the observer's canoe men called "*Kohi, kohia*", for it was the invariable custom when anyone hooked a shark for him to give warning that those sitting near by might haul in or shorten lines, and so save them from being entangled or bitten off. The shark must be killed, too, in accordance with a well recognized method. For three hours the incessant catching and killing of sharks continued till the canoes were well laden, all the time the fleet gradually working down the harbour. Later, with the flow of the tide, the canoes began to pull up once more, till at half-tide all were making for their respective camps. Any canoe had the right to continue work till high water, when the fishing closed till the second of the permitted days.

The catch was landed before high water, being taken out and laid in separate heaps for each canoe. Many of the sharks had notches cut in fins and tail to enable individual owners to identify their fish. The catch in the one canoe totalled 180 sharks, and for the entire fleet, including the second day's fishing a fortnight later, about 7,000.

This account of the annual shark-fishing indicates a number of interesting points in regard to the organization of native economic enterprise on a large scale. In the first place the ultimate control of the whole affair was in the hands of the chief Popota. He had the right of declaring what should be the fishing days, and the duty of keeping the various camps informed, of giving the signal to assemble, and the final command to charge

for the prize. And these privileges and obligations of control were based on no specific and immediate proficiency in the fishing art, but on a social status which was his by inheritance, on the *mana* which came down to him from generations of ancestors. His was the authority over the fishing grounds of that part. Social privileges were often thus enlisted in the service of economic leadership.

Within the sphere of the chief's control, other aspects of the work were taken in charge by minor executive heads. Thus the experts in each camp saw to the fitting-out of the canoes, the preparation of hooks and tackle, and each canoe when afloat had its own commander or chief, his authority derived from his social position. So was order maintained and efficiency guaranteed.

For organization in the actual fishing, a system of rules was in force, stipulating not only the time and place for fishing, but also even the method of killing the fish. And to avoid confusion in the work, conventional signals were in use, such as the cry of " Haul in " to avoid entangling lines when a fish was hooked.

The use of rhythm as an aid to strenuous effort is also demonstrated in the paddling songs and cries. As regards the motives of the enterprise, the desire for sport mingled with the wish to obtain a good supply of fish for the coming months. And as immediate incentive, the distinction of getting the *mataika*, the first fish, acted powerfully in stimulating to careful preparation beforehand and to that first wild race for the goal.

It must be emphasized that undertakings on this scale were not simply the result of contact with European culture. They occurred in much the same way in former times, if one omits such incidental *pakeha* accessories as the telegraph tower or the signal gun.

Most of the large enterprises were communal affairs, i.e. they were performed by all the people of the community—village or *hapu*—working in concert. There are a number of native terms to indicate co-operative labour. An institution of some interest is the *tuao* or " working bee ", a method by which a company of people voluntarily gathered together to accomplish some communal task, generally in connexion with agriculture. Such a party of workmen assembled together is termed *ohu*. Thus in describing the planting of the *kumara* a native said,

"*Mehemea he ohu, ka wehewehea kia toru, kia wha ranei, nga tangata whakaara; kia tokowha hoki nga tangata hai tuahu*"—"If it is a working-party, three men or perhaps four may be detached as breakers-up of the soil; and an equal number also to form the mounds." And, again, another native said: "It mattered not how numerous were the plantations of a district, all would be completed in a short space of time by the *ohu* or working bee, a voluntary band of diggers and planters."[1] Colenso gives *ahu* as a synonym for *ohu*, "*Ina hoki te pepeha a Rangi 'Ko te ahu a Rangi'; kei Maungatipa tena ahu*"—is given as an example. "Hence the boast of Rangi 'It is the company of Rangi'. That company was at Maungatipa." And again, "*Mo to ratou ahu nui ki te hanga i te waka*"—"For their great assembling together to construct the canoe." To combine or co-operate in work is termed *paheko* or *pahekoheko*, according to Williams. *Apu*, again, is another synonym for *ohu*, meaning a company of labourers gathered together for work in the cultivations, while *apa* means also a party of labourers, but implies that they are dependents, vassals, or even slaves.[2]

In some cases a single community was not possessed of sufficient labour power to undertake an enterprise of great magnitude, or for some other reason desired assistance, and called in the aid of relatives or friends. In the erection of a large carved house, for instance, this was frequently done. Experts from other *hapu* or tribes would lend their services for the more specialized work, while large numbers of people from other villages might assemble to take part in the unskilled labour of hauling timber and hoisting the massive posts for the framework. Such work will be dealt with more fully in examining the system of rewarding labour; but the main principles of organization are essentially the same as those mentioned previously. The system of invitation to work and the rendering of mutual assistance is well discussed by Brun under the name of *Bittarbeit*.[3] Such was a favourite practice of the Maori.

From the theoretical standpoint all communal work, or work where a number of people are engaged, may be divided into

[1] Best, *Maori Agriculture*, 158, 101.

[2] For terminology of communal work, v. W. Colenso, *Maori-English Lexikon*; H. W. Williams, *Dictionary*, under words cited; also Best, *Maori*, ii, 379–80.

[3] *Wirtschaftsorganisation*, 39–40. The incidental statement, however, which he makes on the authority of Walsh and others, that in agriculture the Maori was compelled by custom to finish the planting in one day cannot be accepted.

two types. The first is represented by such an undertaking as the hauling of a log from the forest. Here all the workers, with the exception of the leader and the skid-handlers, perform an identical piece of work, that of pulling on the ropes. For practical purposes there is no real differentiation in their functions. The second type of work is represented by the planting operations in agriculture, where the people of one party loosen the soil, those of another pulverize it and make the mounds, while others distribute the seed, and still others plant it and finish off the work. In the lifting of the crop, again, there appears to have been a certain amount of separation of economic functions. Some men attended to the digging alone, others collected the tubers into heaps, others put them into baskets, while others carried these to the store pits, where the task of stowing them away was performed by old men, often the leading men of the *hapu*. No interference with each other's work was allowed among these groups, and the people had to comply with a definite set of magical regulations.[1] Here the economic functions of the various sets of workers are sharply differentiated. Each has its own part of the undertaking to perform, its legitimate and definite place in a regular sequence of operations.

Work of the first type is termed by the economist " simple combination of labour ", and that of the second type " complex combination of labour ". It is important to make the distinction between them, since the organization in each case is of a radically different pattern, requiring a different scheme of regulation and leadership of a different order. This has been pointed out by Professor Malinowski in his clear and concise *exposé* of the problems of primitive labour.[2]

[1] From John White's unpublished MS. (quoted by Best, *Maori Agriculture*, 115).

[2] *Nature*, 26th December, 1925 ; *Argonauts*, 159–62.

In the latter Malinowski has distinguished these two types of work under the terms " communal " and " organized " labour respectively. " These two conceptions are not synonymous, and it is well to keep them apart. As already defined, organized labour implies the co-operation of several socially and economically different elements. It is quite another thing, however, when a number of people are engaged side by side, performing the same work, without any technical division of labour, or social differentiation of function. Thus the whole enterprise of canoe-building is, in Kiriwina, the result of *organized labour*. But the work of some twenty to thirty men, who side by side do the lashing or caulking of the canoe, is *communal labour* " (op. cit., 159).

The distinction drawn is a very real one, but the choice of terms is rather unfortunate.

Both types of labour may be communal, both are certainly organized. For without some degree of organization, however rudimentary, some mutual arrangement, some direction of affairs, no undertaking which involves the co-operation

In undertakings which have to be accomplished by a complex combination of labour the sphere of co-ordination is much wider than when all the workers have to perform the same series of actions. In the latter case integration of their activity is essential; in hauling a log all must pull together, otherwise the individual effort, however great, is wasted. Organization of a certain type is required to effect this synchronization of effort. But in agriculture, or the building of a house, the problem is more acute. Not only must co-operation be secured within each band of workers, but the result of their united efforts must be fitted into its proper niche in the series of tasks on which other parties of workers are engaged. Supervision, not only of one, but of several types of operation is required.

The Leader of Work

At this point we may proceed to an examination of one of the most important factors in accomplishing this organization, i.e. leadership. In the preceding description of typical economic activities the need for co-ordination of the work has been fully stressed, and data have been given to illustrate the manner in which the leader helped in fulfilling that function. The theoretical bearing of these points may now be further analysed.

In small-scale undertakings the leader of the work is generally one of the principal performers in it and to any casual eye may not be distinguishable from the rest. As the type of undertaking grows in complexity and size, however, the person of the leader

of a number of persons, could have much chance of success. And the term "communal" simply implies reference to action by the *community*; it can bear no significance of antithesis to organization. To contrast the two terms, then, as if they were mutually exclusive, seems only to invite confusion. The usage of the older writers of "simple" and "complex" combination of labour, though perhaps a trifle clumsy, calls attention to the central fact of differentiation of economic function and may be allowed to stand. That his terms of "communal" and "organized" labour do not really present a valid contrast is shown by Malinowski himself in his subsequent description of labour in gardening. There are, he says, as many as five different kinds of *communal labour* in the gardens (p. 160). But it is clear from his account that, apart from the name, the main distinction lies in the different kind of *organization* of each. For instance, the *tamgogula* and *lubalabisa* forms of communal labour "do not differ very much except by name; and also by the fact that, in the latter form, more than one chief or headman has to direct the process" (p. 161). But this direction clearly means *organized labour*. In other words "communal" and "organized" labour are not mutually exclusive types. The really relevant distinction which it is imperative to make in analysis is not that between "communal" and "organized" labour, which may describe different aspects of the same undertaking, as Malinowski has himself pointed out, but between differentiated and undifferentiated economic function in the case of the workers concerned.

begins to stand out with greater clarity, until in certain enterprises he takes no part in the actual manual labour, but devotes all his energies to the supervision and direction of the affair. This differentiation of function on the part of the organizer may be correlated to some extent with advance in industrial complexity.

The operation of hauling a large tree trunk, which the Maori had to do for canoes and house-timbers, provides a good illustration of this point. It is graphically described by the author of *Poenamo*.[1] In this case the workers numbered about eighty men, all quite naked. The log to be dragged out was some 3 feet in diameter and 80 feet long, and was decorated at the head with branches of flowering trees and waving tufts of feathers. On this end of the trunk stood the oldest chief of the *hapu*, brandishing his *taiaha* (staff) aloft in his right hand, and imparting to it that peculiar quivering motion so characteristic of the Maori. Rapidly he repeated a long chant, lifting up one foot and stamping it down again, the body being thrown back on the other leg. Every moment his voice became louder and louder, until it almost reached a scream. He grasped the weapon with both hands and sprang into the air, coming down with an action as if he were smiting an enemy to earth. At this instant the workers yelled forth a single word, as a finale to the chorus. As one man they simultaneously stamped on the ground, and then gave one great heave on the rope, which was doubled round the end of the tree. The huge mass forged ahead several feet.

Again the chief sprang into the air, flung his arms on high, and yelled out a word ; the gang repeated it with a louder yell, sprang into the air and landed as one man. Then another pull, and away slid the timber a few feet more. Again and again this was done, at each heave the log advancing a few feet. At last, after one tremendous pull, the gang ended their shout by prolonging it until it died away on a comparatively soft note. This the chief took as an intimation that they desired a breathing space. So they rested, soon to begin again the same series of energetic movements.

In most of these hauling tasks skids were used and a special party was detailed to attend to them, picking them up from

[1] J. L. Campbell, *Poenamo*, 79–82.

the rear and replacing them in front as the log passed over them.[1]

The peculiar customs observed in undertakings such as this—the antics of the chief, his prominent position on top of the object which is being hauled, the weapon which he wields in his hand, and the chant by which each fresh effort is prefaced—are patently devices of leadership by which he may impress his personality upon the workers and secure increased control. His lofty post and the brandishing of his weapon keep the attention of the people concentrated upon him and so enable him better to co-ordinate their activity. The rhythm of the chant also aids as a stimulus to effort.

In enterprises involving complex combination of labour another set of qualities, as well, is required in the leader. Pre-eminently he must have a knowledge of technical detail and a competent grasp of the whole economic situation. Hence we find that in such undertakings as the planting of the *kumara*, or the construction of a new house, the direction and leadership of the work was undertaken by the *tohunga*, the expert, skilled in the technique of that particular craft, and, moreover, versed in all the magical spells and ritual procedure necessary to secure the favour of the gods and the success of the work. He specified the time to begin, allotted the different sets of people their portion of the task, supervised the efficiency of the labour, and ordered the whole course of the work, in accordance with practical and magical requirements.[2]

If the chief were a man skilled in the magical lore of the craft, then he himself might assume the direction of the activity. Thus a native of Ta Kaha, Bay of Plenty, which is noted for its

[1] Various other descriptions of the hauling of logs and canoes bring out the same points—the outstanding figure of the chief, the exact co-ordination of effort, the rhythmic hauling song, etc; cf. Hochstetter (*New Zealand*, 270), who mentions seeing men, women, and children dragging a large canoe from the Awaroa creek to the Manukau. The leader, clad in a red shirt, and with a "battle-axe" (? *tewhatewha*) in his hand, skipped about "with the quaintest gesticulations", and with a chant, led the procession. v. also J. W. Stack, *Kaiapohia*, 182; John White, *A.H.M.*, iii, 102, for the pulling of Horouta canoe; J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs*, i, 168, hauling of a log. In some cases the log took as much as three months of continued work to transport from the place where the tree was felled to the water side. A good description of canoe-hauling (with sketches) is given by Elsdon Best, *The Maori Canoe* (*D.M.B.* 7), 1925, 62–70.

[2] For descriptions of the direction of work by the *tohunga*, v. W. L. Williams, "Kumara Lore," *J.P.S.*, xxii, 36–41; J. Cowan, *Maoris of N.Z.*, 116, 172–8; cf. also John White, *Maori Superstitions*, 219; S. P. Smith, "The Tohunga Maori," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxii, 253–70; A. T. Ngata, "Past and Future of the Maori," *Weekly Press*, 1892, Nos. 1448–50; W.B., *Where the White Man Treads*, 14; Best, *Maori Agriculture*, passim.

abundance of food products, says, " The most famous adepts of these parts at directing the labours of planting and in chanting the work-songs were Tamehana Tarahanumi and his wife. It was owing to his fine work in directing the task of planting, as also the excellence of his work-songs, that these clans [*hapu*] experienced no pangs of hunger." He also mentions that this chief was seen directing a party of over forty workers ; all were engaged in using the *ko* (digging stick). " As director Tarahanumi carried a *tewhatewha* (native weapon) in his hand, but did no digging himself. The diggers kept perfect time in the various movements in using the *ko*." Should a member of the *hunga ko* (digging party) in such work prove to be unskilled, he was sent back by the directing expert to join the planters in rear.[1]

The term *ngarahu* or *kai-ngarahu* is given by Williams as meaning " commander " or " leader in work ". In each of the major economic activities the leader was denoted by a specific term.

A few words may now be said on the interrelation of social position and economic function, as illustrated in the leadership of the chief. In communal tasks of any kind the chief held a position of command in the work. He often took the part of the director of the undertaking, assigning different sections of the task to various sets of people, keeping them up to the mark of efficiency, and watching that the correct time-sequence of operations was observed. In this capacity he might work equally with his people, or might take no part in the actual labour, but merely exercise supervision over the whole.

On the other hand, his authority was often exercised as the initiator of economic enterprises. He supplied the spur, the incentive to action, as it were, either by his oratory and demonstration of the need for the work, or through the more substantial medium of gifts and a feast—a cogent argument which always appealed to the Maori ! He would propose that a certain piece of work, say the erection of a new carved house, be undertaken, and the people after discussion would accede to the suggestion. Their motive in so doing was to take advantage of the feasting, the sociability, and amusement which such a communal affair always provided, while to have such a building in the tribe meant increased renown for all. The proposal of the chief was due to

[1] Best, *Maori Agriculture*, 101–2.

his interest in the welfare of his people, coupled with the desire to add to his own prestige. The chief Tareha, in 1868, when describing the carved house now in the Dominion Museum, said, "Such a building as this is only erected by men holding a high position among the tribes; it is a sign of chieftainship, and the proprietor becomes a noted man. The whole tribe assist in building it when called together by the chief for that purpose."[1] In such a case the chief played the part of an entrepreneur, repaying the labour expended on his behalf by gifts to the specialists engaged, and presents of food at intervals, culminating in a gigantic feast to all and sundry on completion of the work. As one who gave the stimulus to production, because he was the possessor of stores of wealth, the chief might either direct operations himself, if he had the requisite technical and magical knowledge, or, more often, he commissioned a *tohunga*, an expert, to do so, rewarding him for his services with presents of garments, ornaments, and food.

An enterprise of this kind offers perhaps the clearest case of the duality of function which can be observed in the positions of chief and priestly expert. The latter was *par excellence* the actual director of work. Equipped, as a rule, with a deep knowledge of technical procedure and traditional rules, versed also in all the magic of the craft—spells, ritual, and *tapu* observances—he was eminently fitted to assume the post of skilled adviser or practical leader. And so we find to a certain extent this division of economic function, the chief providing the initiative and the *tohunga* the direction of the undertaking. This was illustrated in the description of Te Pokiha's fishing with the great net. The old chief supplied the stimulus to the whole affair, and assumed all the social obligations in connexion with it, while the executive responsibility and technical supervision were placed in the hands of the *tohunga*, Te Whanarere, the expert in fishing lore. The division of the functions of leadership on these lines was, however, by no means invariable. But in large tribal enterprises this procedure was usual.

The exact nature of the economic leadership exercised by a chief was always dependent to a great extent on his status by birth. This is especially noticeable in the case of the *ariki*, the high chief, descended in the first-born line. Correlated with his social standing he had magical and religious powers of a

[1] Proceedings, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 41.

peculiar kind, of such nature that he, and he alone, was qualified to perform certain economic functions. He was both chief and priest in one, and leader *sui generis*. So in ceremonies connected with firstfruits, the lifting of *tapu* from land to be cultivated, the breaking down of a *rahui* (the magical prohibition imposed on fisheries, forests, or shell-banks), or the consecration of economic talismans (*mauri*), his was the post of leader. Even though he might be lacking in practical ability and his normal authority and influence pass to a younger relative, yet would he be called upon from time to time to use his peculiar powers in the economic interests of the people.[1]

The head man of the village or tribe thus always had great authority in economic affairs. It will be useful to summarize here the factors on which his status depended.

(1) His command of technical skill and knowledge of economic lore, coupled with his industry.

(2) His authority as leader of his people in social matters and head of the kinship group. From this he received a kind of derivative or transferred power of great force.

(3) His wealth, as the owner of valuable property and custodian of the most important tribal treasures.

(4) His sacerdotal position and *tapu* as a chief.

The degree of possession of these qualities varied according to the individual, but in general the prestige of this type which he held gave the chief his wonted position as leader and adviser in important economic enterprises.

It may be objected that leadership in magical ceremonies, such as characterized the *tohunga* of higher grade, did not enter into the economic sphere. But as will be shown in the following chapter, magic is intimately bound up with the success of all economic undertakings, and performs, indeed, a valuable function therein. The magical regulation of economic affairs is one of the most useful factors in organization.

[1] Mr. Geo. Graham tells me that in the case of Paora Tuhaere mentioned in Chapter III, though the lineal descendant of the old chief, Te Kawau, is not a man of ability and has no great authority among his people, he was nevertheless sent for only some few months ago to remove the *tapu* from a piece of land at Purewa which was needed for railway purposes. Cf. also John White, *Maori Superstitions*, 223. An *ariki* who was a thief lost all influence over his people except in matters of imposing and removing *tapu*. It was desired that the *tapu* be lifted from a certain piece of land for cultivation. The *de facto* leader of the tribe could not do so ; the *ariki* was appealed to. He refused, but at the united request of the people he performed the ceremony.

Apart from the ritual observances, and the regulations imposed upon work by magical beliefs and procedure, there is also a vast body of customary rules not directly dependent upon any religious sanction, but carrying with them the force of tradition. Conventional methods of procedure and technical rules built upon the basis of experience are a very efficient agent in helping to weld together the efforts of the workers into a coherent and purposive scheme of activity.

Stimuli in Communal Work

Some attention must be directed now to one aspect of co-operative work which is of the greatest importance in contributing towards the efficiency of labour in primitive societies. I refer to the stimuli which are in use to promote work, the "palliative concomitants" as they are termed by Professor Malinowski in his analysis of the problems of primitive labour.[1] These may be distinguished from the group of incentives examined in a previous chapter—the desire for reward, social reputation, etc.—by the fact that they do not represent the aim of the work, but simply the means of making it more pleasant.

Among the Maori there were several of these stimuli which relieved the tedium of protracted effort and introduced a sparkle of interest into the occupation. One of the most important was the pleasure of work in company. Most communal industry was an affair of the whole population, men, women, and children turning out *en masse*, and in the rest-pauses indulging in conversation, banter, and the exchange of news and scandal, all of which gave a distinct fillip to the affair. The actual labour itself, too, was stimulated by the knowledge of the presence of others, likewise engaged, which thus had a distinct psychological value.

Another factor of importance is rhythm. This subject has been treated with great erudition by Karl Bücher,[2] who has collected a great quantity of material indicating the value of rhythm and songs in work. No attempt will be made to examine his results here, but simply to make a study of the Maori data. The Polynesian people have a great love for songs, and, even

[1] *Nature*, 26th December, 1925.

[2] *Arbeit und Rhythmus*, 6th ed., 1924. The more theoretical part of this work is not free from blemish, especially as regards Bücher's attempts to derive the origins of poetry and music from the rhythm of work. For criticism, v. e.g. O. Leroy, op. cit., 85–7.

in these degenerate days, have a well developed sense of rhythm and a feeling for euphony. To this the Maori is no exception. Native singing, though sometimes rather monotonous owing to the succession of quarter-tones and fine modulations which are hardly appreciated by the European ear, is often very pleasing, while both in this and in the posture dances the rhythmic effect is well marked. With this partiality it is no cause for wonder that the Maori utilized songs, chants, and rhythmic measures very freely in his communal work. In log-hauling, in digging, in canoe-paddling, and in other tasks requiring the co-ordination of the effort of numbers of persons all performing the same type of movements, these songs were common. As a rule a definite song leader was appointed, whose duty it was to give the time or to intone the body of the chant in exact and measured style, to be joined by the workers in the chorus. The song leader in a canoe was called *kai-tuki* or *kai-hautu*; as a name for the fugleman when a canoe is being dragged Hare Hongi gives *kai whakahau*, and Best *kaea*.[1]

These rhythmic work songs may be divided into four main classes :—

(1) *toto waka, to waka,* or *tau waka,* canoe hauling songs, used when a canoe is being dragged over a portage or a log through the forest. Best also gives *rangi waka* as a synonym for these.

(2) *tuki, tuki waka, hautu waka,* or *rangi rangi,* canoe-paddling songs.

(3) *ko kumara, tapatapa kumara,* or *whakatopatopa kumara,* chants used when digging the fields for cultivation.

(4) Songs used when engaged in other minor operations as grinding of adzes, etc.[2] The generic term for such songs is *tewha*. Williams also gives *ngaringari* as a name for a song to make people pull together when at work.

There is not space here to consider each type of work song in detail. Since the principle involved in the use of each is the same, it will suffice to describe briefly the songs used for hauling and paddling canoes.

In dragging a partly finished canoe from the forest to the water,

[1] This last is a term also used to denote the leader of a flock of *kaka* parrots in flight.

[2] Cf. Best, *D.M.B.*, 4, 54, 60, and A. Shand, "Moriori Grinding Song," *J.P.S.*, i, 81–2.

which might be a considerable distance, ropes were fastened to the framework or to projections inside, and men might also haul upon the sides of the craft itself. The work was heavy, and co-ordinated effort was imperative. The scene was essentially the same as that already described in the case of log-hauling (v. *ante*). Here we are concerned, however, not with the leadership of the work, but with the rhythmic chants sung and their bearing on the efficiency of the labour. The men by the canoe, when the word was given by the fugleman, extended one arm forward and the other back, grasped the topsides, and with chests pressed against the canoe, simultaneously impelled it forward and marched along beside it, while at the same time the others heaved on the ropes. The call of the fugleman and his chant served to ensure unity of effort on the part of the two sets of haulers, to induce them to take the strain at the same moment and to heave all together. Usually the body of the chant was intoned by the leader, while from time to time the working party responded with a word or phrase as chorus. A lengthy hauling song is given by Shortland,[1] which shows the correspondence between the words of the chant and the movement of the work. Short staccato phrases accompany a brisk heave, while a sustained pull on the rope is characterized by the onomatopœic effect of long vowels and drawn-out syllables. In giving a long and strong pull to overcome a difficulty in the ground, the song is modulated accordingly, while a lengthened phrase, chanted all in one breath, is uttered as the gang walk away with the load.[2]

So was the canoe dragged along. A similar chanted accompaniment assisted the crew when paddling the vessel, with remarkable effect. C. O. B. Davis, long acquainted with the Maori, says that it is a most imposing sight to see a large war canoe, elaborately carved and tastefully decorated with feathers, urged forward by a hundred or more men, the paddles moving

[1] *Trad. and Superst.*, 1856, 163–5.

[2] Hare Hongi, an accomplished member of the native race, and well versed in Maori lore, has some useful notes on this topic (*J.P.S.*, xvii, 167). Cf. Sir Geo. Grey, *Moteatea*, 90–3, for a hauling song said to have been used when Tainui was dragged from the forest ("*Ko te tau tenei i toia mai ai a Tainui ki waho o te wao nui a Tane*"). Cf. Cowan, *Maoris of N.Z.*, 67–8, for another version, shorter and with considerable variation. There it is described as the *unu waka*, or canoe releasing song used to assist the hauling of Tainui over the Tamaki portage; v. also *Moteatea*, 224, for another *tau waka*; Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xl, 250–1, for a timber-hauling song; ibid., *The Maori Canoe*, 66–9, for canoe-hauling chants; R. Cruise, *Journal*, 300; A. S. Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, i, 136–9, 167.

like clockwork and glistening in the sun.[1] This regularity was attained by conformity to the *tuki waka* or canoe song, which the chief or captain chanted from his post amidships, weapon in hand, stepping lightly from thwart to thwart, swaying now to this side and now to that with the rhythm and motion of the vessel. Samples of the *tuki waka* or canoe songs are given by a number of writers.[2] James Cowan has collected several of interest, one of which may be given here as an example of this type of composition. It is said by natives to be a part of the old canoe chant originally used on board the ancestral vessel Takitimu during her voyage to New Zealand many generations ago.[3] It indicates clearly the rhythmic nature of these *hautu waka*. The leader begins :—

	Free translation.
Papa te whatitiri, hikohiko te uira,	The thunder crashes, the lightning flashes,
I kanapu ki te rangi ; ru ana te whenua.	Flashes in the heavens, and the earthquake shakes the land.

Then waving his paddle or his weapon he chants :—

He tia, he tia,	Dip lightly, dip lightly !
He ranga, he ranga,	Now a long stroke, a long stroke!
Whakarere iho te kakau o te hoe	Plunge deeply your paddles
Ko a Manini-tua, i Manini-aro	The paddles Manini-tua and Manini-aro,
I tangi te kura, i Tangi-wiwini	Tangi-wiwini and Tangi-wawana.[4]
I tangi te kura, i Tangi-wawana	
Tera te haeata takiri ana mai	See, dawn is breaking yonder
I runga o Matatera.	On the peak of Matatera.
Ana Whaiuru, Whaiuru,	Now, Whaiuru, Whaiuru
Ana Whaiato, Whaiato,	Now Whaiato, Whaiato ! [5]
I arara tini, i arara tini,	Now a long, strong stroke !
I arara ri-i !	(Here the paddlers pause, while the canoe sweeps through the water under the impulse of the last stroke.)
E ko tena, tena ;	Now, again, again !
E ko tena, tena ;	Again, and again !
E hara ko te wai o taku hoe,	That was not the water from my paddle,
Ko te wai o taku hoe.	The water from my paddle.
Hei koti, hei koti, kei koti-i-i !	Now dig in, cleave it, A long, strong stroke !
E ka rere te rere i te waka,	Now we're going along,
E kutangitangi, e kutangitangi ;	How the canoe flies !
E kura tiwaka taua,	How fine the paddles sound

[1] *The Renowned Chief Kawiti*, etc., 10. Early travellers frequently remarked on the wonderful sychronization effected in native paddling by the canoe song.

[2] J. Cowan, *Maoris of New Zealand*, 82, 184–7 ; E. Shortland, *Trad. and Superst.*, 167–8. Cf. also for description W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xiii, 57, etc. ; F. von Hochstetter, *New Zealand*, 297 ; J. A. Wilson, *Ancient Maori Life*, 31.

[3] The original, obtained from Tuta Nihoniho by James Cowan, is given with a translation by Hare Hongi, *J.P.S.*, xvii, 97–8, 104–5. There are some verbal differences from the rendering given here.

[4] Names of sacred paddles belonging to the Takitimu.

[5] Names of Hawaikian chiefs.

	Free translation.
E kura tiwaka taua !	All together !
E kura wawawa wai,	My grand canoe,
E kura wawawa wai-i-i !	My treasured canoe,
	A treasure of the waters !
	(A long, strong stroke.)

The effect of such a canoe chant on the paddlers is excellently shown in the vivid description given by T. H. Potts in his too little known book *Out in the Open* :—

" Each plunge of the paddle is directed by *te tangata hautu,* who shakes his paddle or quivers his fingers in exact time with the chant with which he encourages the rowers. Time is kept with most wonderful precision—the thirty paddles in the canoe dash aside the waters at the same instant. The stroke most frequently used is one strong plunge of the paddle, which is succeeded by a mere dip, which lasts while the way is on the canoe given by the preceding strong stroke. . . Hark to the cry of *te tangata hautu, ' Hoe, hoe, hoe, kaha, hoe kaha ! '* Swiftly is the craft urged forward. A *pa* or settlement comes in sight after rounding a turn ; the *kupapas* [natives] increase the force of the plunging *hoe* ; both canoes dash onwards in a terrific spurt. One feels the long craft bounding and quivering beneath the vigorous stroke. *Te tangatu hautu* in a *ngeri* (song), frantically chanted, urges the panting *kupapas* to renewed exertions. *Hoe kaha, kia kaha, kia mau !* Then the burden of the song is taken up by the whole crew with a startling crash of sound. Spray dashes over the sides of the vessels and we rush through the water as though borne onwards by a wild crew of demons excited to the verge of madness. The settlement passed, all reason for showing off their strength ceases, and the sweating crew ease their paddling to a short quick stroke called *tupari.*"

From this account it is fairly easy to perceive the manner in which the working song acted as a stimulus to efficient performance of the task. Analysis of the actual effect produced shows that there are four main elements therein.

(1) The expenditure of energy is rendered more efficient by providing regularly spaced time-points at which it can be synchronized. The rhythm facilitates co-ordination of individual effort.

(2) The movements of the leader, the words of the chant, and the effect of participation in the responses or chorus divert attention from the physical strain of the work and so tend to relieve fatigue.

A CANOE PROW (*TAUIHU*).

This is a fine example of the Northern style of canoe figurehead. (British Museum Collection.)

[*face p.* 232

(3) The song helps to raise the social temperature of the activity, or, to put it more concretely, it induces a feeling of greater cheerfulness in the workers.

(4) The appeal of the leader and the ideas conjured up by the words of the song working through mental association act as a stimulus to the physical energies.

In this manner the working songs of the Maori are seen to have a distinct economic utility in increasing the efficiency of communal production.

Some idea has now been given of the basic principles which lay beneath the organization of Maori economic enterprise. In this chapter we have considered a number of types of productive undertaking, rising in the scale of complexity, and have shown how the division of labour operated in each, the manner in which the integration of contributions was effected, the nature and scope of leadership, and the roots of its power. Attention has been drawn in the more important activities to the complementary functions exercised by chief and economic expert, a division or delegation of authority having great value for the efficient prosecution of the work. The place of the specialist craftsman in Maori society has been indicated, with a reference to these particular fields of activity in the primitive economic system which are most congenial to the development of his powers. The practical aspects of the institution of slavery have been examined, and its correlation with magico-religious beliefs demonstrated, in addition to its dependence upon economic influences. Again, we have analysed the effects of the rhythmic accompaniment to which certain tasks were performed.

In this the main field of discussion has been restricted to examples drawn from the occupation of fishing, but the data here studied are very typical of Maori economic activity in general. Moreover, the incidental reference that has been given to many other occupations has allowed us to make quite a broad survey of the organization of the native in his work. Our conclusions drawn from this intensive study have also enabled us to make certain observations on problems of a wider theoretical interest.

We have still to consider, however, one important factor in the organization of native industry—the magical rites and ceremonies involved.

Chapter VII

MAGIC IN ECONOMICS

The word "magic" is a symbol of mystery and romance, suggestive of dark rites, weird spells, faëry enchantment, and the invoking of unseen and awful powers. This is the tradition of the art as it has come down to us in folk-lore and literature. Such phrases as Keats' "charm'd magic casements" draw much of their poetic beauty from the delightful flavour of the imagery evoked by that word.

Magic is a constituent in that aspect of life which does not conform to the hard tests of practical experience; it is a thing apart, finding its roots in those elements of irrational belief which seem to be bound up with all human mentality. Following Durkheim, one may see in human life the two great divisions of the Sacred and the Profane. In the course of this work, we have to deal primarily with affairs in the latter category, in the realm of everyday existence; we are bound, however, to consider the salient features of the former, since they bear directly upon our problems. For despite the supernaturalism which forms its very essence, magic in a primitive community is a distinctly practical matter. It is called into requisition for all kinds of commonplace affairs, even in matters of work and trade.

Magic, in fact, in one shape or another, permeates all the economic life of the native. Every craft has its spells and incantations, its rites and omens, its regulations of supernatural import. Magical ideas seem to be ubiquitous in their pervasiveness; at every turn the craftsman is hemmed in by restrictions and prohibitions of quite a different order to the technical rules with their obvious practical utility. This aspect of the subject has been very widely investigated by workers in the Maori field and much data of extreme importance has been collected. The theoretical issues of the problem, however, have still to be more clearly defined. That magic is believed in and widely utilized by the Maori, that he thinks it assists him in his work, has been shown with great clarity in the many accounts of

magical ceremonies in industry which have been published. But the fundamental problem of the *raison d'être* of the magic art has been left on one side. One great question to be solved is : what part does magic play in economic life ? The native *thinks* it is of inestimable value to him, but does he *actually* reap any practical advantage from it ? As will be readily seen, the answer to this question has very important implications both for the theory of magic itself, and for present administrative policy in native communities where it is still practised.

Tapu

One of the fundamental conceptions which must be studied in connexion with Maori magic is that of *tapu*. This is the same term as the Polynesia *tabu*, with its many variants, and as an institution in native life was of the same far-reaching power and importance. In trying to elucidate the essential meaning of the term one can easily become immersed in speculations of a mystical order, but the best evaluation of it is to be obtained by considering the attitude of the native towards *tapu* objects, as expressed in his behaviour. Any person or thing which was regarded as *tapu* was only to be approached or handled with caution, and under certain rigidly delimited conditions. Otherwise harm was believed to occur. For the ordinary villager, things *tapu* were to be avoided. Hence one can readily see the justification for the meaning of " prohibited " which is usually applied to the term. Moreover, a *tapu* object was believed to impart to any person or thing which came into contact with it the same mysterious quality, which could only be removed by ritual performances of a magical kind. So, in some circumstances, it might be regarded as having the significance of " unclean ". And, on the other hand, since the *tapu* is thought to receive its virtue and power from the gods, it has come to be accepted in many cases as a synonym for " sacred ". There is no need, as is sometimes done, to oppose these different meanings of the concept of *tapu* ; they may be regarded as various aspects of the same state, now one quality and now the other receiving emphasis according to the nature and degree of the *tapu* under consideration. All *tapu* was not of the same intensity ; some objects had to be treated with much greater respect than others, and the penalty for infringement was correspondingly severe.

In economic life the *tapu* exerted a great influence. It is necessary to consider its comprehensive sphere of application, since in this way considerable light can be thrown on its essential character and value. Broadly speaking, this mingled attitude of respect and avoidance found its main objective field of expression, in economic matters, in connexion with those things which were of primary importance to the Maori in his struggle for existence. The *tapu* was most concerned with natural resources, the highly valued cultural objects, and man himself.

The forest, for instance, was believed to be under the guardianship of the god Tane, who protected the trees, rats, birds, and all woodland products from unauthorized interference. The *tapu* lay upon them, and only after Tane had been placated and the effects of the *tapu* nullified could the Maori venture to convert these things to his own use. Thus to chip or cut a living, standing tree was thought to be an unlucky act ; it was an *aitua,* an evil omen for the person who did it. A tree should be felled properly and with due ceremony ; one should not aimlessly hack it about ; nor should one even adze a standing tree for future use. Such an act was a *pokanoa,* a wanton piece of interference, and the elders would chide any young person seen behaving in this manner.[1] Casual meddling with valuable property was thus prevented. The examination of a host of other beliefs and institutions shows that the significant natural resources on which the Maori was dependent for food or the raw materials of industry all had some degree of *tapu* attaching to them. The maintenance of this attitude of respect implies a recognition of the importance of the gifts of nature to man. There is also discernible an element of anxiety, lest by any reckless or improvident behaviour the forces of productivity should cease. After a close study of the *tapu* in relation to the natural surroundings of the Maori one begins to get a glimmering of its meaning, as well as of the significance of the whole complex scheme of belief in gods, powers of fertility, and the vital essence on which all things depend. It becomes fairly clear that these guardian deities and their *tapu,* and the rich galaxy of supernatural beings with whom the Maori delighted to people his world of folk-lore, are not merely the chance creation of a mytho-poetic mind, which loves to think in imagery and to personify natural phenomena. Their genesis must be explained on more fundamental grounds. The host of

[1] Best, *Stone Implements of the Maori,* 122.

personified elemental phenomena, the quaint and intricate mythology which deals with Nature in all her moods and guises, is the outcome not of the unfettered mythic fancies of a poetic mind, but of a vital interest in things upon which the Maori depends for his existence and welfare.

The *tapu* of material culture accessories, again, is a recognition of their "social value"—to adopt a term which Radcliffe-Brown has employed to such advantage. Objects of importance to the community, such as large canoes, eel-weirs, and superior houses always had a certain amount of *tapu* pertaining to them, whereas small fishing canoes and dwellings of ordinary type were void of such quality. The intensification of the *tapu* in the case of things of greater social importance is clear. In the production of the more valued economic goods supernatural restrictions invested the object and its surroundings. Thus, when a large fishing-net was being put together on the beach, the net and all the workers engaged thereon were *tapu*, as also the shore around for a considerable distance. Such regulation undoubtedly had the effect of keeping the energies of the people concentrated on their task, as well as of ensuring that strangers should not interfere.

Man, also, as the centre-point of life, could only maintain his well-being by surrounding himself with a personal *tapu* and keeping it inviolate. And, broadly speaking, the *tapu* of a person increased *pari passu* with his rank, so that the dignity of a chief was greatly intensified thereby. Commoners dared not touch him nor meddle with his belongings. This institution performed a very useful function in helping to sustain the whole fabric of social organization.

The *tapu* also assisted the maintenance of law and order in the community, and, *inter alia*, was often useful in facilitating the protection of private property. This, however, was of social rather than of specifically economic utility.

In support of what has been said in regard to the beneficial effects of the *tapu* in Maori society, a few opinions of qualified observers may be cited. Thus C. P. T. Laplace says, "Il assure la conservation des animaux et des plantes nécessaires à la subsistence de l'homme, et dont un consommation désordinnée détruirait l'espèce."[1] Rev. W. Colenso, an acute missionary ethnographer, stresses the social value of the institution, and

[1] *Voyage autour du Monde*, 1835, tom. iv, 29.

regards it as being on the whole beneficial to the natives. However capricious and irregular it may appear to us, it was certainly a source of *order* to them. The *tapu* regulated their behaviour and enabled them to perform many tasks which otherwise they could not have done. Through it their food, fish, and forests were preserved. " Notwithstanding, they certainly never liked it," says Colenso. " No man or body of men has ever yet liked a coercive law, however beneficial." [1] That eminent authority, Judge Gudgeon, regarded the *tapu* as " the most politic and useful of all the superstitious institutions of the Maori people ". Mainly through its agency, the warlike turbulent Maori, quick to resent insult, was rendered in his own village obedient, orderly, and law-abiding. The *tapu* was a valuable " restraining principle ". " I do not contend that every imposition of the *tapu* conferred a benefit on the tribe," he says, " but I do hold that this ceremony had the effect of a mental discipline, teaching the Maori the greatest of all lessons—that of self-denial and subordination." [2] And Best observes, " *Tapu* and *makutu* [witchcraft] are practically the laws of Maoridom. Property, crops, fish, birds, etc., were protected by them." [3]

An analysis of the institution of *tapu* in its economic aspect shows then that it has distinct practical effects. It expresses the recognition of the " social value " of things to man, of their importance in his scheme of existence. It provides also a valuable system for the regulation of conduct; it sacralizes and sets apart things with which the ordinary individual should not meddle, and by the associated belief in supernatural punishment for infringement imposes a religious sanction upon these rules. Moreover, in the production of the more important economic goods the *tapu* often imposes an adherence to work and a concentration of energy which are of the utmost value. In all this it succeeds in standardizing the behaviour of the individual towards important objects of his natural and social environment along traditional and culturally useful lines.

A weird and original notion concerning the meaning of *tapu*

[1] *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 40–1. [2] *J.P.S.*, xv, 49–51.

[3] *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxiv., 70. See also G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes*, 330; J. Cowan, *Maoris of New Zealand*, 114; W. Brown, *New Zealand*, 12, etc.; A. Earle, *Narrative*, 19. For concrete data on this point, cf. W. Williams, *Missionary Register*, 1830, 470; A. N. Brown, *C.M. Record*, 1836, 243; R. Taylor, ibid., 1840, 281; J. L. Campbell, *Poenamo*, 293–4; T. H. Smith, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxvi, 426; T. W. Gudgeon, *History and Traditions*, 32; T. H. Potts, *Out in the Open*, 171; T. McDonnell, *Tales of the Maori*, 589; W.B., *Where the White Man Treads*, 40.

is put forward by R. Hodder, who being apparently a disciple of the occult, finds that "*Tapu* is the Magnetic Touch laid by the *atua* [supernatural being] upon any object".[1] He also suggests that the Maori *tohunga* (priestly expert), utilizing certain correspondences between the physical body and its shadow, and between these and various *atua*, got into touch with the lower order of nature spirits and through them, by means of rhythmic spells, was able to practise curious arts. Maori magic in fact may have been derived from "the well of occult truth". The present writer, not having drunk from the same somewhat murky waters, hardly feels himself qualified to express an opinion on this matter.

To explain the fundamental nature of *tapu* an interesting theory has been put forward by Professor Sigmund Freud. In his *Totem und Tabu*[2] he holds that taboo restrictions are different from religious or moral prohibitions, being of an arbitrary nature. "They are not traced to a commandment of a god, but really they themselves impose their own prohibitions" (31). Peoples who have this institution "assume an ambivalent attitude towards their taboo prohibitions; in their unconscious they would like nothing better than to transgress them but they are also afraid to do it; they are afraid just because they would like to transgress, and the fear is stronger than the pleasure. But in every individual of the race the desire for it is unconscious just as in the neurotic" (53). The ideas embodied in these statements bear directly upon the study of *tapu* given in the foregoing pages. Space does not allow to follow Freud through all the psycho-analytic channels of his thought, but a few observations may be made from the point of view of the Maori institution, especially as he himself makes reference to it in his book.

The central theme of Freud's conception of taboo is that its prohibitions are really the social analogue of individual compulsion neuroses. Struck by the correspondence which undoubtedly obtains, he believes that the taboo is generated in ambivalent emotional attitudes in which social components have largely replaced the sexual elements of the neurosis. In stressing the important part which the emotional disposition plays in taboo, Freud has made a valuable contribution to the problem. But

[1] *Occult Review*, iv, 1906, 305.
[2] The references are to the English trans. by A. Brill, 1918.

his somewhat doctrinaire application of psycho-analytic technique leads him to over-drive this point. " The basis of taboo is a forbidden action for which there exists a strong inclination in the unconscious," he says (54). And again he lays weight on " The nature of this ambivalent relation so often emphasized as fundamental, namely, that the positive underlying desire is unconscious " (117).

" This explanation is not derived from an adequate analysis of the taboo situation itself, but from the analogy with the phenomena of compulsion neurosis to the taboo " (59). This is a step which must be taken with caution, for several reasons, the most important being the fact that the regulations of taboo are essentially social as well as individual in character. The taboos in any society form an organized, integrated system, each prohibition having its place in the great scheme of traditional belief. Each of the " taboos " of a compulsion neurotic, on the other hand, is an arbitrary phenomenon, peculiar to the individual—organized into that person's own scheme of belief, maybe, but not valid for the society at large. One person does not uphold the compulsive obsessional prohibitions of another, whereas in a primitive community the taboos are known and, generally speaking, kept and enforced by all. This is one point at which the correspondence between taboo and compulsion neurosis breaks down. Freud himself points out that " as taboo is not a neurosis but a social creation we are also confronted with the task of showing wherein lies the essential difference between the neurosis and a product of culture like the taboo " (118). This rather takes away the ground from his own previous argument, but he still fails to realize the vital distinction involved. As it is he is content with an explanation of taboo essentially based upon an individual psychology.

Again, conjoined with the social setting of the taboo is the external nature of its compulsion. It is the obedience of the individual to the irksome restrictions imposed upon him from without by social tradition that constitutes an essential feature of the institution ; to talk of its " enforcement through an inner need " (48) is to warp the whole conception of the system.

For these reasons it seems to be a straining of the evidence to find the roots of taboo in *unconscious* forbidden desires. The wish to break through its prohibitions is there, but it is often demonstrably of quite conscious kind ; as for instance in the

observance of the *tapu* placed upon food supplies. Moreover, Freud neglects the definitely *positive* aspect of *tapu* regulations. They do not always merely prohibit ; they often insist upon a certain course of action being followed out. Thus the *tapu* of net-making or *kumara* planting enforces work. It also proscribes food. But " the desire to violate the taboo "—to stop work, and to eat—is present in a definitely *conscious* state. Again, the wish to break through the enforced abstinence from sexual pleasures, which is a feature of many taboos, is indubitably a conscious impulse. Unconscious factors may be postulated, but they must in any case play a subordinate part in the main rôle of the taboo.

We are concerned in this chapter only with the economic *tapu* of the Maori, but an examination of its ramifications in other aspects of life would support the conclusions drawn here. The *tapu* must always be studied as an institution working in the community, not as an aggregate of isolated individual prohibitions. From this point of view its essence is seen to consist in a standardization through tradition of valuable emotional attitudes largely of conscious kind towards objects of cultural importance.

The *tapu*, even in the economic sphere, was apt to become irksome in its wide ramifications, loaded as it was with supernatural pains and penalties even for unwitting breach of rule. It often restricted freedom of movement and participation in useful activities, and if kept intact would have prevented utilization of most of the product of labour. Hence to avoid its most cumbersome and inconvenient restrictions, there had to be some method of lifting or abrogating it when its purpose was served.

So we find the various *whakanoa* rites, the ceremonies of " making common " things that were sacred or prohibited, in order that they might become available for ordinary use. The function of this ritual was in effect to divert or set aside the consistent application of the regulations of *tapu*. The erection of a carved meeting-house, for example, was surrounded by much *tapu*. While the work was in progress, only authorized persons such as the priest and the builders were allowed therein, no food could be taken inside, nor could the chips and shavings from the timber be used to cook food or for an ordinary fire. These and other regulations had the effect of ensuring the proper

performance of the work. But when the building was completed the necessity for the stringent rules of *tapu* was past ; the building must come into everyday use. And as the *tapu* still clung, it had to be removed by a special ceremony. This was the *whaikawa* rite which had the effect of consecrating, as it were, the building to the use of man, but was primarily designed to remove the *tapu* from it, and make it available for common use.[1] In these rites cooked food was the agent used to nullify the potency of the *tapu*. It must be borne in mind, of course, that it was the *tapu* of building construction only which was removed ; the house itself, as an important culture item, always retained a certain degree of sacredness, which did not, however, interfere with its normal use. The *whakanoa* rites, then, were the clear and practical corollary of the system of *tapu*, the necessary relief from an otherwise intolerable institution.

Magic and the Control of Nature

We now come to the analysis of magic, properly so called, and its place in the economic scheme. Primitive man looks rather more closely on the face of Nature than does his civilized *confrère* ; he wins his subsistence more directly from the natural environment. And yet, coupled with this, he is equipped with a less adequate fund of empirical knowledge in respect of natural phenomena, and his accumulated experience has been organized into fewer comprehensive principles of science. Often in his work he is confronted by forces unknown and unforeseen, which he can neither control nor understand.

Here is the scope for magic, which in its essence is an affirmation of control by man over his surroundings. By the power of spells and proper ritual procedure he regards himself as being able to guide the forces on which he relies to work out his destiny, and to cope effectively with the unforeseen contingencies which persistently arise. It is a sociological situation of this nature that provides the foundation for magical belief. This was recognized long ago by Adam Ferguson, writing in 1767. " In what depends on the known or the regular course of nature," he says, " the mind trusts to itself ; but in strange and uncommon situations it is the dupe of its own perplexity, and, instead of

[1] A ceremony of this type still takes place when a new Maori meeting-house is opened for the first time to the people. The object is to remove the *tapu* from the building—even after it may have been consecrated by a European clergyman.

relying on its own prudence and courage, has recourse to divination, and a variety of observances, that, for being traditional, are always the more revered." [1]

The study of the effect of magic upon the economic life of the Maori has a certain theoretical interest, in that a problem of similar type has already been dealt with by Professor Malinowski in his monograph on the *Kula* exchange of the Trobriands. Again, the whole question of the fundamental nature of magic and its function in primitive society has been worked out most thoroughly by him in his important and definitive essay on " Magic, Science, and Religion ". The conclusions there put forward are of the greatest interest for the study of magic. In the latter part of this chapter I have followed to a great extent Malinowski's mode of treatment, and at the close have brought the formulation of my concrete results in the Maori field into comparison with his generalizations.

It is necessary at the outset to give a broad classification of Maori economic magic. Sir James Frazer, in his monumental work, separates magic into two great categories—contagious and homeopathic (or imitative)—on the basis of the principle or means by which each is supposed to attain its end. While this division is exceedingly useful, it will be better for our immediate object to classify magic roughly according to the purpose or end which it is intended to serve. It will enable us to consider more easily the functions of each type. This is not a scheme suggested by the Maori himself, yet, as will be seen, it is sufficiently in accord with native concepts as to preserve the essential reality of the distinctions made.

Broadly speaking, the economic magic of the Maori may be classified into *magic of protection* and *magic of production*.

Magic of Protection

The object of the protective type of magic is to guard the natural resources on which the Maori depends for his livelihood from the inexplicable and unforeseen accidents due to change in natural conditions. Sometimes birds migrate from a forest for no apparent cause, fish desert their accustomed reefs and shoals, or fail to appear at the usual season, the fruits of trees are lacking in a lean year. Not being equipped with a comprehensive

[1] *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 137.

scientific knowledge, primitive man is not apt to attribute such phenomena to the working of natural laws. A simpler reason is always at hand—the conduct of man himself. The fertility of natural resources has been alienated by thoughtless acts or by the machinations of ill-disposed persons. This postulate of the interference of human agency is one which is in accord with the emotional temper of man's feeling of dependence on his environment. The object of the magic of protection, then, is to obviate any ill results which may be presumed to follow from carelessness or neglect, and to ward off the active attempts of enemies to injure vital resources.

It was the old Maori belief that every natural object or aggregate of objects possessed a spiritual essence, a non-material core, or life principle (*mauri*), and to this was due their vitality, even their very existence. If it were a forest, for instance, on the maintenance of this vital principle depended its fertility and productive powers. The fruiting of the trees, the abundance of birds and rats, the vigorous growth of the forest as a whole, all hinged upon the preservation of the *mauri* intact and unharmed. Fisheries, too, had their *mauri*, representing their productivity, as had all other types of natural resources, and man himself. In its nature this *mauri* was an intangible, imponderable essence, impersonal in character, and not to be confused with any idea of an indwelling spirit. The term *hau* is also used in this connexion (see Appendix to this Chapter). *Mauri* must not be confused with *mana*. The latter term, in Maori usage, signifies "authority", "prestige", "influence", "psychic power". *Mana* is a quality of a thing, not an intrinsic part of its constitution. A man can lose his *mana* and live; he is simply bereft of all special power, and hence of social authority. But if a man lose his *mauri*, he must die; his vital principle has been reft from him. The term "life principle" by which Best speaks of *mauri* in his valuable papers on the subject [1] is probably the most fitting translation that can be devised. Everything in nature, then, had its physical basis and its psychic counterpart; material form, and vital essence. Now this latter was capable of being affected by external agency,

[1] "Maori Forest Lore," iii, *T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 436–42; "Maori Magic," ibid., xxxiv, 76–7, etc.; "Spiritual Concepts of the Maori," i, *J.P.S.*, ix, 1900, 173–199 (especially 189–198); ii, ibid., x, 1–21 (esp. 2–7); "Mental and Spiritual Concepts of the Maori" (*D.M. Mon.* 2), 22–34; "The Maori," 304–10; "The Maori as He Was," 80.

of being contaminated, or of being destroyed by magical spells. And in such case the object itself, its vitality being gone, must inevitably perish and decay. Though the physical form remain, its virtue has departed.

This system of belief helps to explain the dominant magical attitude of the Maori towards his natural surroundings. In the economic undertakings of daily life, continual use was made of the resources afforded by the environment, involving constant liability of interference with the *mauri* of things, of contaminating them. Care had to be taken to preserve the *mauri* intact and undefiled, while utilizing the things themselves. Naturally the idea of the *mauri* was closely bound up with that of the *tapu*, the sacredness of things, which ultimately rested on the protection of the gods. Hence came such rules as prohibited the carrying of cooked food through the forest, lest the *tapu* be broken, the *mauri* become polluted, and the forest lose its powers of fertility. To guard against careless behaviour a whole system of stringent magical regulations was in force, regulating the attitude of man towards the raw materials of production.

To ward off deliberate and ill-intentioned interference with economic productivity recourse was had to the system of protective magic. The *mauri* of things could be isolated and transferred from its inchoate affinity with its physical basis, to be localized in a particular spot or material object. This was, as it were, a precipitation of the virtue of the economic resources. In the case of a forest, for instance, it was often caused to dwell within the narrow compass of a stone. This was then hidden away in some obscure spot, and, safe from prying eyes, held secure the life principle and productive powers of the forest. A by no means inapt analogy is given in an old Russian fairy tale of a giant who had hidden his life—or perhaps his soul—within an egg, which he had then carefully concealed. He was therefore impervious to all bodily assault and continued to flourish cheerfully and wickedly until the egg was found and broken, whereupon at that moment he perished. In the case of the Maori the precise degree of transference is not clear ; in some instances it might be held that the stone or tree represented rather than actually contained the vital principle of the forest.

The material medium to act as the repository of the *mauri* of forest or fishing ground was generally a stone—it being imperish-

able—and was also termed a *mauri*—hence the confusion which sometimes arises as to the precise significance of the term in a given context. In the latter sense, as the material resting-place of the vital essence of a thing it may almost be termed a talisman. Such stones were generally concealed at the base of a tree, or buried in the ground, or sunk in the bed of a stream.[1] The act of establishing a material *mauri* wherein the vital principle of forest or fishing ground might repose was accompanied by magical ceremonies of great sacerdotal importance, having as their essential element the recitation of a number of *karakia*, or spells, to implant the *mauri*, to guard it from interference and the like. These need not be given in detail here. The preparation of a bird or other product as an *ika purapura* or " seed-fish " to retain the essence of the fertility of the lands is a somewhat similar rite of magic. In fact, according to Best, *ika purapura* and *mauri* are apparently synonymous terms.[2] Among the Matatua tribes the sacred fire at which such ceremonies were performed, the *ahi taitai*, was regarded as being in a sense the *mauri* of the village, because these rites protected the vitality and welfare of the people and their lands.

Under the heading of " protective magic " we may conveniently discuss also the magic of opposite kind, that of destruction of economic resources. The two are essentially complementary in relation, and must be considered together.

Quite a complicated system of magic and counter-magic centred around the protection of a forest by the establishing of a material *mauri*. In addition to the spells recited to endow the *mauri* with necessary powers and protect it, magic was also used later if birds became scarce in the forest. It was known then that the *mauri* had ceased to perform its work efficiently ;

[1] The belief in the *mauri* of fishing grounds has by no means disappeared—forests have largely lost their importance in these days as a source of food supply to the Maori. The *mauri* of the fisheries off the Mokau River reposes in a large hour-glass shaped stone, of some antiquity, since it is said by tradition to have been the anchor of the ancestral canoe Tainui. Of late this has suffered vicissitudes. Once it was carried away by a European and had to be restored through the agency of the Government, at the earnest request of the natives, who claimed that the fish had deserted the river. Recently, hearing that it was proposed to remove the stone for safe keeping to a Museum, the local natives assembled, dug it out from its resting-place in the sands of the river, and concealed it, subsequently revealing it again to the public view, but imbedding it in a concrete base for protection. They feared lest again the " luck " of the fishing grounds might depart.

[2] Best, *J.P.S.*, ix, 194–5 ; *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxiv, 76 ; *D.M.Mon.*, 2, 33 ; *Maori*, i, 309, for instances of use of material *mauri*. Also W. E. Gudgeon, *J.P.S.*, xv, 39 ; J. Cowan, *Maoris of N.Z.*, 139, 141, 201.

" it had gone to sleep ; then an expert would proceed to awaken it by reciting charms over it, and so cause it to attend to its work." [1] From this it is evident, by the way, that the material *mauri,* besides being the repository of vitality, had also some active influence in compelling fertility. On the other hand, a person who wished to go poaching in the forest, or who wished from malice to cause the birds to desert it, would endeavour to find the *mauri* and neutralize it by incantations. Sometimes a certain species of lizard dreaded by natives was placed by the owners at the spot where the *mauri* was concealed in order to guard it. This was made use of by the intruder. When searching for the talisman he repeated a portion of a spell, then paused, and listened intently. If he heard no sound he turned in another direction and again uttered the words. When at last he faced towards the concealed *mauri* the lizard, in response to his spell, made a chattering sound. On hearing this the intruder completed his incantation and proceeded to destroy magically the efficacy of the *mauri* or use it for his own purposes.

There were other types of magic, also, which had as their object the destruction of the fertility of the economic resources of a people.[2] Such was the rite of *tipi a houmea* or *papaharo,* which was performed in order to blast the productivity of lands and render them sterile, or to destroy shell-fish on a beach. In one method the performer took a small stone, recited over it his spell, and then threw it across the land or stream to be rendered non-productive. The *karakia* (spell) begins—

" Blast the *hau* of the land
The *hau* of the food " . . . etc.

Such a rite was distinctly in the class of anti-social magic. This in its turn was counteracted by a further piece of magic, comprising a spell to restore the products of the land to their original state of fertility. Such an incantation is known as *pare hao-kai.*

Rahui

The object of the magic surrounding the establishment of a material *mauri* or talisman was to ensure the protection of the fertility of natural resources against unforeseen contingencies or the act of an enemy. Magic of an essentially defensive type

[1] Best, *Maori,* ii, 456.
[2] Best, *T.N.Z.I.,* xxxiv, 85 ; ibid., xlii, 442 ; *J.P.S.,* ix, 197 ; *Maori,* i, 336.

was employed. But measures of a more active kind were sometimes taken in order to prevent interference with economic resources by unauthorized persons, and in this case the spells used were intended to be definitely offensive in their action. The procedure followed was to set up a *rahui*. This term applies to two types of prohibition, one being comparatively mild in its effects, while the other was believed to be destructive to the welfare of persons who interfered with it. We shall deal with the latter kind first.[1]

The essential process was this : a post was set up in the ground on the edge of the forest or the bank of the stream which it was desired to guard, and to it was attached a *maro*, a lock of hair or bunch of grass. This was termed the *rahui* post. The priest then proceeded by means of an incantation to " sharpen the teeth of the *rahui*, that it might destroy man ". A kind of " conditional curse ", as Westermarck calls it, was set upon the post, so that any person meddling with it, the forest or the productivity thereof, either by practical or magical means, would be slain by the force of the spells associated with the *rahui*. As in the case of the *mauri*, here also there was counter-magic by which the intruder could first neutralize its power by his incantations and could then work his will upon the fertility of the forest. But a system of checkmate had been devised for this again, whereby a false *maro* or lock of hair was attached to the post, while the real one, i.e. the one impregnated with the virtue of the destructive magic, was taken together with a stone and concealed as a *whatu* or kernel for the magic. Hence the unknowing person who directed his arts against the *rahui* post would still not have neutralized its magic, and imagining himself secure would be destroyed by it when he attempted to meddle with the *mauri* of the forest. In fact the affair resembled a kind of magical hide-and-seek, the prize carrying with it the fancied retention or destruction of the fertility of the forest lands, and the penalty for the failure of the seeker being his death.

The other type of *rahui* was much less severe in its supposed effects, and in itself was not particularly dangerous to life, since it was set up without the deadly soul-destroying spells. It was

[1] Useful accounts of the *rahui* and its ceremonies have been given by Best, *J.P.S.*, xiii, 83–8 ; *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxiv, 90 ; ibid., xlii, 434 ; *Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori* (*D.M.Mon.* 2) 18–19.

instituted as a protection for actual rather than potential fertility of resources, and took the form of a mild prohibition, a ban placed upon taking the products of any particular area of forest, stream, or fishing ground. It might be imposed for a variety of economic or social reasons. Thus if a chief were drowned in a river his people would probably place a *rahui* upon the surrounding area to prevent any person taking fish from those waters. Such a man being *tapu*, to eat food from that river would be an act of degradation of his status, and would be tantamount to a direct insult to his family. For a variety of similar reasons a *rahui* might be imposed.[1]

On purely economic grounds, also, a *rahui* might be instituted. To save the resources of a shell-bank or a patch of forest from becoming unduly depleted, the chief of the *hapu* might proclaim over it a *rahui*, in consequence of which no one would be allowed to take supplies therefrom for a time. He set up a post and perhaps hung an old garment thereon as a sign of the prohibition, but attached no magical spells. Sometimes these *rahui* were merely proclaimed by word of mouth. The institution of a *rahui* of this type was the privilege of a chief, and its observance was a tribute to his rank and status. As the Maori puts it, a person of *mana*, of influence, is needed to set up the *pou rahui*, the *rahui* post. At times the *rahui* seems to have signified simply the act of reservation of the food supply to the owners and not the entire prohibition of all use thereof.

Many kinds of economic resources were temporarily preserved in this way. Thus streams were often protected by *rahui* to prevent the fish being taken out of season, while forest products, cultivated food plants, fern-root, flax, and the places where red ochre was obtained were all similarly guarded. Best in his notes on *rahui* gives instructive instances of this.[2] Thus when Wanikau of Te Roto-a-Tara wished to protect the fish and birds of the three lakes of Tara, Kiwa, and Pou-kawa, he did so in the usual manner by setting up a post on the shore of each lake and smearing them with *kokowai* (red ochre). This preserved the food supplies for Wanikau until one Mautahi pulled down and burned the posts. Again, when Ngati-Whaoa slew Korona they cut off his head and stuck it on a *rahui* post to prevent people

[1] Cf. John White, *Maori Superstitions*, 194; Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxviii, 221. A number of interesting examples of this type were given by Tamamutu of Taupo in 1883 (v. W. L. Buller, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxvii, 151 et seq.).

[2] *J.P.S.*, xiii, 1904, 83–8.

from digging fern-root at a certain place on the Paeroa block. A place at Otutaira, where members of Ngati-Pou used to obtain their red ochre, was protected by a *rahui*. At Ruatoki a grove of *tutu* shrubs known as Ure-takohekohe was formerly protected by a *rahui* lest the berries should be taken by persons who had no right to them. When a certain chief of the Ngati-Apa wished to preserve the eels in his part of the Rangitaiki River he would suspend one of his old garments on a post and everyone would then know that eels were not to be taken.

The writer of the account of Governor Grey's overland journey in 1841 remarks on having seen a small lake in the middle of a swamp which the natives said abounded in eels. On the top of a little ridge just above a *rahui* was erected. It was made of an old rusty musket barrel stuck in the ground, with the stock tied to it with a piece of flax, and a bunch of reed tops fixed to it like a plume of feathers. Such a *rahui*, he notes, was always treated with extreme respect, the natives considering it an act of great dishonesty to catch eels or any other fish, to hunt pigs, snare duck or parrots, or destroy in any way game which it was erected to preserve.[1] ("Dishonesty," however, is hardly the correct word; it was not an immoral but a foolhardy act, since, as he observes, the infringement of a *rahui* was a *casus belli*. It was fear of reprisals and not of moral obloquy that restrained a person from disregarding such a sign.) When the same party arrived at Roto-mahana they found the lake swarming with duck and other wild fowl, it then being the breeding season. These birds were preserved by a most rigid *tapu* ("*Ko te mea tenei i rahuitia ai nga roto, a—kia rere ano aua manu*"—runs the Maori text) until the young were fledged. Then such of the tribes as had an acknowledged proprietary right in the lake assembled, the *rahui* was lifted, birds were caught in great numbers, and a feast was held.

The removal of a *rahui* was often made an occasion of celebration, and also helped to increase the prestige of the chief who imposed it. Thus Dr. Buck remarks that on the deeper fishing grounds of the Bay of Plenty, where the method of diving for *kehe* was in vogue (v. Chapter VI) a close season was declared by the chiefs in order to add to their prestige.[2] This mode of fishing would hardly be used to obtain ordinary food supplies,

[1] Grey, *Overland Journey*, 96–8, 220–1, written by G. S. Cooper.
[2] Te Rangi Hiroa, *T.N.Z.I.*, lvi, 617, 619.

hence the proclamation of a *rahui* entailed no irksome restrictions on the people and allowed the chiefs to exercise their *mana* (authority). The lifting of the *rahui* was done on special occasions such as the announcement of the pregnancy of the chief's wife. The *éclat* of the event did honour to the unborn heir, gave a day of pleasure to the people, and a relished meal. "The fish caught were supposed to form a dainty repast for the pregnant chieftainess, and were hence called a *whakakakitunga* (something for the throat). Of course, the people shared in the feast." Thus to sum up, "The removal provides a special function, which is as much an aquatic sports gathering as a means of providing food. At the same time it stresses the importance of the ruling family." Dr. Buck has pointed out here an example of an interesting sociological phenomenon, the conversion of subsidiary economic institutions into a means of social control and increasing the authority of the chief, by clothing them in the panoply of ceremonial display. This undoubtedly has its cultural value.

The infringement of a *rahui* was termed *kairamua* and was a serious matter. If the prohibition were of the former and more deadly type, then the breach was believed to be punished automatically by the affliction of wasting disease. The *atua* or gods of the priest were at the bottom of this. In other cases, where no initial rites had been performed, witchcraft might be resorted to by the outraged possessor of the forests or fisheries. In any event, meddling with a *rahui* was a dangerous business, since, if the magic did not slay the intruder, the owner of the land certainly would on the first chance that offered. In the case of the more important economic *rahui* of the second type, imposed on behalf of the tribe by their chief, and backed only by a mild *tapu* and no spells, poachers or trespassers were slain in punishment. Hostilities between two tribes or *hapu* sometimes were the result of infringement. Moreover, conflicting claims to lands or fisheries often led one party deliberately to break down a *rahui* declared by the other, with the result that war ensued. Thus a *rahui* post named Puahi-te-ao was set up by the Rangitane tribe in order to *tapu* their lands of Tumaki and so prevent encroachment by another tribe. "*Ka poua te rahui hei whakatapu mo to ratou whenua.*" When the opposition heard of this they sent out a party and cut the post down. Rangitane re-erected it, made due preparation, and commenced hostilities.[1]

[1] Narrative by Tanguru Tuhua (trans. S. Percy Smith), *J.P.S.*, xv, 88.

The type of *rahui* considered in the last few pages, set up without esoteric rites, hardly comes under the heading of magic. But it has been considered here for completeness of treatment, since the two kinds bear the same name and are allied in purpose, while even the mild form of prohibition generally carried some force of *tapu*.

The Economic Value of Protective Magic

We have now to draw together the threads and to consider what was the part played by the magic of protection in the economic life of the Maori. The *supposed* and *real* effects may be sharply distinguished. The supposed effect of *mauri, rahui, ahi taitai,* and the like was that they guarded the fertility of crops, birds, forests, and fisheries from pollution—intentional or otherwise—or punished intruders with sickness or death, so preserving intact the productivity of economic resources. This belief has obviously no validity in fact. Nevertheless the system of protective magic did exert a real influence in economic affairs.

In the first place, by creating an atmosphere of respect and fear it certainly did obviate much deliberate destruction, or careless interference with those natural resources so essential to the welfare of the community. Intruders believing in the efficacy of spells keep off, since they do not know at what moment they may be assailed by the shafts of disease or death. And negligent people for the same reason are rendered watchful of their behaviour. For the protection of growing crops, the young of birds, or depleted fisheries, magic is a very useful reinforcement for rational rules.

Again, the system of magic, by its prohibitions and imperatives, definitely regulated the conduct of the people of the community towards their economic environment. Its importance was kept before them, and their whole psychological attitude was stabilized, handed down to them already moulded by tradition, with benefit to their work. And what was of great value in this respect, it gave a sense of security to man in his dealings with nature, a feeling of conscious control, which though illusory was none the less of real advantage.

Magic of Production

Attention may now be turned to an important phase of magical activity, its connexion with the work of production.

In all economic enterprises of any moment, magic had its assured place in the scheme of events. It was regarded by the native as being essential to render the process of the undertaking efficient, and to cover any untoward happenings which might otherwise intervene. In canoe-making it was performed to give speed and sea-worthiness to the craft, in fishing and fowling to impart skill to the hand, efficiency to the implements and good luck in the day's sport ; in weaving to give deftness to the fingers and memory of technique, in agriculture to give protection from drought, excessive rain or insect pests, or to promote increase of crops.

It would be easy to adduce from any or all of the industries evidence to show how deeply magic was interwoven with productive effort, running parallel with almost every stage of the work, regularizing it and placing upon it the seal of tradition and of supernaturalism. To allow of a more detailed examination of the complete range of magical and technical co-operation, however, it will be best to confine the study to the analysis of one industry, the last-named, the cultivation of the *kumara* or sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*).

Magic and Work in Agriculture

Among the foods of the Maori the *kumara* held high status. To some tribes it was denied, by reason of their geographical situation, but wherever possible it was cultivated and always greatly prized. The myths of its origin and the many traditions respecting its introduction into New Zealand afford convincing proof of the esteem with which it was regarded. It was essentially a *tapu* plant, all the operations connected with its cultivation being hedged round with a mass of regulations and observances having their roots in religious and magical belief. The workers, the seed, and the growing plants were *tapu*, no food could be consumed by the party till the operation of planting was finished, and in many tribes no woman could put in the seed or harvest and store the crop. But here we are concerned more immediately with the actual magic of production, the ritual performed to ensure the safety of the crop and a bountiful harvest.

The magical ceremonies, like the technical processes, are numerous, but separate themselves into three main stages, being performed (*a*) at planting, (*b*) during the growing of the crop, (*c*) at harvest. The following tabular arrangement gives in summary form the disposition of the various types of activity, and indicates the interrelation between magic and practical technique.

Work.	Magic.
Preparation of ground :—	Digging chants—sometimes with
Clearing of brush, etc.,	magical influence.
Breaking up ground,	
Digging over soil,	
Pulverising soil,	
Gravelling soil,	
Loosening soil,	
Throwing into hillocks.	
Planting :—	*Magic of Planting* :—
	Preparation of *mara tautane* (the sacred plot).
	Magic of weaving sacred basket, *a*.
	Magic of distribution of seed, *b*.
	Magic before planting field—offering to gods.
Distribution of seed-tubers,	Magic of distribution of seed,
	Ritual chant during planting,
Planting of seed-tubers,	Ritual chant during covering of seed,
Covering of seed-tubers.	Ritual chant at completion of planting.
	Lifting *tapu* from workers,
	Setting of *taumata*—representations of the gods—in the field,
	Ritual feast after planting, *c*.
Cultivating crop :—	*Magic of growth* :—
	Magic for rain,
	Magic against frosts,
Tilling the soil,	Magic against pests,
Dispersal of superfluous rain-water,	Magic to promote growth,
Weeding,	Ritual offering of food to Pleiades,
Tending of runners,	
Erecting of breakwinds.	Magic for broken tubers, *d*.
Harvest :—	*Magic of Harvest* :—
Inspection of crop,	
Preparation of store-pits,	
Lifting of crop,	*Pure* ceremony—lifting of *tapu* from crop,
	Offering of first fruits,
	Ceremonial binding of shoots, *e*.
	Digging of hillock, *f*.
	Burying of tubers, etc., *g*. Crop dug.
	Unearthing of buried tubers, etc., *h*.
Sorting and storing of crop.	Magic of storing to ensure preservation.

Note.—*a*, *b*, *c*, etc., refer to *karakia* (incantations) given by W. L. Williams, loc. cit., in his excellent account of certain phases of *kumara* magic.

The above schematic table gives a fairly complete list of the various magical ceremonies associated with the art of agriculture, at least as it concerns the *kumara*. The system of magic differed among different tribes, as did also the technical details of carrying out the work, hence there are many variations in the information which is on record.[1] But the main trend and character of the ritual is common to all. In this analysis an attempt will be made to set these various ceremonies in perspective.

The initial process in the magic of *kumara* planting was the preparation of a special plot known as the *mara tautane*, and held sacred to the gods. This was quite small, and in it were planted a few tubers, the growth of which was regarded as an index of the crop, and which served to yield the first-fruits offering to the gods at the time of harvest. The participation of the whole community in the undertaking was signified by each family group providing a tuber to be planted in the sacred plot. *Karakia* (incantations) were recited by the directing *tohunga* (priest) at various stages of the proceedings, as for example at the weaving of the sacred basket to hold the seed, at the distribution and planting of the seed and at the ritual feast which concluded the operations. (*a*, *b*, *c*, etc., in the Table indicate a typical series of such *karakia* as used by the East Coast tribes.)

The planting of the field proper was then undertaken. Prior to the commencement of the work magic was performed, with spells in the form of invocations to the presiding gods and generally accompanied by some form of offering. This was to secure the favour of these deities, to start the task auspiciously and cause it to be properly carried out. While the work was proceeding, incantations were repeated, and also at the end of the planting a ritual chant directed towards Rongo, the god of the *kumara*, gave him control of the field, with the object of causing the crop to flourish and warding off any mishap. Another formula repeated during the planting operations called upon Pani, the mythological " mother " of the *kumara*, to " pour out her basket in this field " and so to grant largesse of crops at harvest. At the completion of the day's work the *tapu* was

[1] The data for the above table and the latter part of this chapter have been obtained chiefly from W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xiv, 43–48 ; Archdeacon Walsh, ibid., xxxv, 12–24 ; J. W. Stack, *Kaiapohia*, 124–5 ; W. L. Williams, *J.P.S.*, xxii, 36–41 (translation of material written by Mohi Turei and obtained from Pita Kapiti, a *tohunga* of the East Coast) ; Best, *The Maori*, ii, chap. xvi, ibid., *Maori Agriculture* (*D.M.B.* 9), 1925 (a comprehensive and authoritative work containing much original matter).

lifted from the planters by a magic rite, allowing them to partake of food and return to their homes. All these things, as also the actual labour of digging and planting, were ordered by the priestly expert, who acted both as performer of magical ceremonies and as director-in-chief of the practical side of the activity. In operations such as agriculture the two functions went hand in hand.

The second stage in the technical operations and magical ceremonies was coincident with the sprouting and growth of the plant. Soon after planting, perhaps immediately, a spell was recited by the attendant priest to bring rain if necessary. When the young shoots appeared above ground certain articles of food were taken into the field and held up as an offering to Matariki (the Pleiades) accompanied by the recital of sacred formulae. With the growth of the plants came magic to ward off frost, magic to kill insect pests,[1] and magic to promote fertility and a good crop, as each was required. At the same time the labour of cultivation was directed to tilling the soil around the plants, erecting breakwinds of brushwood, and the eradication of weeds. This last was done with great industry, so that early travellers all remarked upon the neatness of the cultivations. If a tuber were broken in the course of weeding a magical formula was repeated to avert ill consequences.

As the crop came to maturity it was inspected by the experts, and the store-pits were prepared in readiness to receive it. The lifting of the crop was accompanied by much ritual, of which the essential elements were the *pure* ceremony of removing the *tapu* from it and the offering of the first-fruits of the harvest to the tutelary gods. The storing of the *kumara* was a business requiring great care, as the tubers were very susceptible to damp and, if bruised, soon began to decay. A formula to avert this and to ensure the preservation of the crop was accordingly recited during the storage operations. The whole undertaking was concluded by the harvest festival, a time of jollity and rejoicing.

[1] Rev. S. Leigh notes how the appearance of a large number of caterpillars in a *kumara* field led to an application to a neighbouring *tohunga*. He performed the requisite magic, after which the natives " assured me that the caterpillars fled away, the potatoes grew in abundance, and all of them were very good ". Mr. Leigh later induced the priest to show him how the ceremony was performed. " He went through it, all of which appeared to be empty and vain " (*Historical Records of N.Z.*, i, 709). This throws an interesting sidelight both upon the belief of the natives in the miraculous effect of magic, and upon the psychological attitude of the clergyman to a brother in the craft.

From this brief description of the labour and magical procedure involved in Maori agriculture several points of interest may be noted, as worthy of study. These are : the rôle of the *tohunga* as leader in magic and director in work ; the performance of carefully planned and industrious labour side by side with that of ceremonies and ritual formulae ; and the points at which magic enters the field, where the skill of man does not command the economic situation. It is by consideration of these that we may hope to throw some light on the problem of the nature of magic and its rôle in economic life.

On examining the series of formulae and mystic rites pertaining to agriculture it is seen that a definite *magical sequence* is followed. The initial ceremonies are to induce the co-operation of the gods in the whole enterprise, to placate them and secure their good offices in order to have favourable conditions of work. Then the tenor of the magic changes and the object is to ward off specifically injurious influences such as drought, frost, and insect pests. Later, as the crop advances towards maturity, a bounteous harvest is the theme of the ceremonies, while when the crop is lifted, the continuance of fertility is sought by a recognition of the aid of the gods and an offering of the first-fruits to them. Then as the sorting of the crop begins, attention turns to its safe preservation, and magical formulae are recited to keep the harvested tubers from decay. The series of magical operations is thus correlated with three other conjoined factors, the natural process of growth and maturity, the technical scheme of work, and the hopes and fears of the moment as the undertaking proceeds. It is in this sequence and in this correlation that one element of its value to the economic system lies.

As its performance is measured on the one side by the stages of growth of the plant and on the other by the progress of the actual labour of cultivation, it acts as a connecting-link between the two. In other words, the magic rites, which are regarded as being absolutely essential to the prolific bearing of the plant, are regulated by the sequence of natural changes, and in turn help to regulate the technical side of the activity. Reference has already been made to the manner in which the *tohunga*, the priestly expert steeped in magical lore, not only performs the sacred rites over the *kumara*, but also acts as practical adviser and director in the work. This post as magician gives him a unique ground of vantage from which to survey and control all

arrangements. To add for a moment an illustration from another aspect of life, that of canoe-voyaging—the magician here also was prominent in controlling the practical handling of the craft. In one account of the Aotea canoe of tradition it is said that Kanika, a *tohunga*, joined the vessel before she sailed and became a director of it by means of his *karakia* (incantations). In the original text he is described thus: "*Ko Kanika he tangata mohio he tangata karakia he tohunga mai no mua . . . koia te kai-whakatere i te waka, ara ki te karakia.*" ("Kanika was a man of knowledge, a man of magic, an expert of olden times . . . he was the person who navigated the canoe, thus by his magic." [1])

But in addition to providing the undertaking with a leader entrenched in authority, magic reinforces still further the framework of organization. It prescribes the class of persons who may engage in the activity, it surrounds them with a body of regulations, it measures off the periods of their work, it even dictates to some degree the times and the seasons when labour must be performed. By its imperative character it assists in keeping up to the mark the technical processes with which it is associated. In this whole function of helping to regulate and organize industry magic is of undoubted value to primitive economic life.

It also exerts an allied effect through its supernatural character. The regulations which it imposes are kept, by the Maori at all events, by reason of the religious sanction, the fear of the gods which lies behind them. In this way the *kumara* magic tends to concentrate the attention of the workers upon their efforts. Non-economic action is restrained while the labour is in progress, food is barred till the day's work is done, rigid prohibitions are imposed upon behaviour, and the people of the community feel that they are consecrated to a weighty task. Punctual and careful work is thus secured, with obvious benefit to the industry.

The close association of magic with labour has been stressed so much in this chapter that it is necessary to point out the independent position occupied by each in the native economic scheme. Rites and formulae are regarded as essential to the success of the undertaking, but they do not constitute in themselves the sole pre-requisite of achievement. At every stage in agriculture solid work accompanies or alternates with the

[1] *J.P.S.*, ix, 203, 218.

performance of magical ceremonies. The native clearly perceives the effect of neglected weeds, of caked soil, of wind-whipped leaves, of rain-water lying on the ground; and he labours accordingly. There is no confusion of the magical and technical branches of activity.[1]

What then is the sphere of each? A glance at the Table of Work and Magic and the paragraphs which amplify it indicates that the one concerns itself with those elements of the activity which can be mastered by the native with his technique and knowledge, the other is an attempt to deal with the incalculable and unpredictable factors by which he is continually being opposed and thwarted. Weeds can be eradicated, a stiff soil can be lightened, a harsh wind can be fenced off; but drought, frost, a plague of insects, a poor harvest, the decay of crops in storage, are largely beyond the power of man either to anticipate with any degree of exactness, or to overcome. Hence we have the entry of magic upon the economic stage, the attempt to control the ungovernable, to estimate the unpredictable. Of the effect of this attitude we shall speak later; for the moment we may turn to examine the means by which it is hoped to attain the desired end.

Elements of the Magic Art

In the suggestive analysis to which attention has already been drawn, Professor Malinowski points out that the magical act, all the world over, has three essential elements—the spell, the rite, and the condition of the performer. And he shows that in Trobriand society, at all events, the great virtue of the magic to the native lies in the spell. This is true also of the Maori. In fact the term *karakia*, meaning, strictly, the formula which is uttered, is also used as a generic term for magic. In this set chain of words, behind which ultimately stood the power of the *atua*, the supernatural beings, lay the great mystic value of the magical act.

The efficacy of the magic, however, was not wholly secured by the mere repetition of the spell. It was also contingent in Maori eyes upon the *mana*, the psychic power, of the person who

[1] Cf. again Adam Ferguson on magic: "Its maxims, in the meantime, are not always confounded with those of common life; nor does its weakness or folly always prevent the watchfulness, penetration and courage men are accustomed to employ in the management of common affairs" (*Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 1767, 137.

recited it, and upon the method of his delivery.[1] *Mana*, again, depended upon the state of a person and could be temporarily placed in abeyance or permanently lost by contamination in a variety of ways, such as contact with cooked food or other spiritually degrading objects. Hence to exercise magic properly and give force to the spell the practitioner was obliged to keep a number of regulations of *tapu*. The spell had also to be recited correctly, not only as regards the form of words, but also with fluency and proper intonation. Some formulae of a highly ritualized nature had to be recited without a break, and to this end two or more persons were required. A slip or error in an incantation (*tapepa, tui whawhatirua, hewa*) was a serious matter, and in native belief spelt serious misfortune or even death to the reciter, by act of the gods. Magic was a double-edged tool, dangerous to the wielder if not properly handled.

The grave attention paid to the form of words in the recital of the spell gives an indication of where the roots of its efficacy lay. It was the exact adherence to the formula, the preservation of the ancient magic in all its traditional purity which gave to the recital its imagined power. At the same time, examination of the formulae itself discloses that it is no meaningless agglomeration of words, but in substance has a bearing on the activity which it is intended to assist. Where direct invocations are rare, as with the Maori, the words uttered in the spell often take the form of affirmations, presenting an analogy to the event enacted or the situation desired. Thus a formula to give speed and grace to a canoe refers to the swiftness of a bird on the wing, the lightness of a gull floating on the water, or recites the names of woods noted for their buoyancy. Another most important and frequently most embarrassing aspect of the linguistics of Maori magic is the continual occurrence of archaic expressions and obscure references to legend and myth. These are a sore trial to the would-be translator, for they are often a fundamental constituent of the spell. They provide the necessary link with tradition which is so important an element in magic, and by reference to successful and epoch-making activities of similar tenor in the misty past they give an augury for present achievement.

The method of transmission of magic, a point of some interest, must be given brief mention here. The spells of lesser economic

[1] Cf. W. E. Gudgeon, *J.P.S.*, xiv, 50.

importance, such as charms to avert ill-luck and secure a good bag of game, were imparted by an elder to a younger relative without much ceremony, as on fishing or fowling expeditions. The magic associated with the practice of such handicrafts as carving or weaving was given to the pupil side by side with instruction in the practical technique. The more sacred ritual formulae, such as were used in agriculture, canoe-building, etc., were imparted along with other esoteric lore in the *whare wananga*, the house of learning, to specially selected persons of intelligence and rank. These, when fully equipped, were *tohunga* (instructed persons) and acted as magicians and expert directors in major economic affairs. The transmission of magic was surrounded in all circumstances with a certain amount of *tapu*, but in the case of the ritual formulae of importance, such as those relating to the *kumara*, this aura of sacredness was greatly increased. The higher class priesthood, according to S. Percy Smith, descended as a general rule from father to son, generation after generation, as for instance in the Te Rakuraku family of Tuhoe. It was the duty of a parent or grandparent to instruct a boy, though sometimes he went to other teachers. Certain branches of knowledge or spells were family or tribal property, and these were communicated only to descendants. Percy Smith states also that boys were first taught about the age of 12 years; this is perhaps rather younger than was usual.[1]

A point to be emphasized is that contrary to the custom obtaining in many communities, especially those of Melanesia, no payment was given in return for magical teaching. The handing over of any goods in exchange for the magical formulae would be extremely degrading to the latter, and if food were given in payment it would contaminate and utterly destroy the virtue of the magic. As a rule a person was taught by his relative out of good will and a sense of family responsibilities, and such was the duty of elders. In the *whare wananga*, the teaching was done that the sacred lore might not perish, but should be handed down to persons who would act as guardians of it and experts for the tribe. There was a strict dissociation

[1] S. Percy Smith, "On the Tohunga Maori", *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxii, 253–70; for a comprehensive account of the *whare wananga*, the transmission of magic and the ritual pertaining thereto see Best, *The Maori School of Learning* (*D.M.Mon.* 6), 1923; cf. also *Lore of the Whare-Wananga*, Maori text, with trans. and notes by S. Percy Smith, 2 vols., 1913–15, *passim*; W. E. Gudgeon, "The Tohunga Maori," *J.P.S.*, xvi, 63 *et seq.*

of the transmission of magic from all ideas of material payment.[1] In one respect only does the idea of compensation enter in. When a man has passed through the sacred house of learning and has imbibed the knowledge of the most *tapu* ritual of black magic (*makutu*), he must render *utu* (an equivalent) to his teacher. Using the powers which he has newly acquired he must slay by his potent spells a near relative—mother, brother, or another of his family. The death of such person formed the sacrifice to give *mana* to the new-learnt magic, it was a test of the pupil's proper acquisition of the knowledge, and was the sole payment to the teacher for his services. In rare cases the teacher, if an old man, nominated himself as the victim whom the pupil should slay by his magic arts. The slaying of a person as *utu* for the teaching of the most sacred formulae finds a precedent in the mythological occasion of the acquisition of black magic from the goddess Miru of the underworld.[2] And in the old tale of Mahu, we learn how being taught the formulae of witchcraft by his brother-in-law, Taewa-a-rangi, he first used his magic arts to slay that man's daughter, his own niece.[3]

To return from this digression—the characteristics pointed out in regard to the magic of production may now be illustrated by reference to an actual example of a spell recited by the *tohunga* during the ceremonies connected with the lifting of the *kumara* crop. Numbers of economic *karakia* (spells) have been collected from the Maori, but many items are without published translation.

[1] It may be of interest to remark here that practically all the vast mass of data collected by ethnographers in New Zealand has been obtained, to the best of my knowledge, entirely without payment to informants. This may sound strange to field-workers accustomed to the Asiatic, the Melanesian or the American Indian. But it must be remembered that to the Maori, historical tradition, etc., were sacred things and could not be degraded by the receipt of money or tobacco in exchange. Moreover, the average white man was a person without *tapu*. Hence it was only by gaining the confidence and friendship of the most conservative natives and by an expert knowledge of the Maori tongue that knowledge of ritual matters was obtained. The information does not lose in value thereby. It is significant to remember, too, that it was not until the beginning of the present century, over one hundred years since the initial impact of white civilization, and nearly as long since the first, and, indeed, competent ethnographic collectors began research, that anything save the name of the supreme god Io was allowed to be made known to Europeans. The attitude of learned natives towards payment for data imparted is illustrated by a remark made by Best that "information could be got now by any person who can converse freely with natives (in their own tongue, he means) who can gain their confidence, who uses a little tact, and does not antagonize the Maori, as an acquaintance of ours lately did by paying one at the rate of a shilling an hour for certain information concerning the customs, etc., of his forefathers."

[2] Two men were slain by Miru "*hei utu mo nga korero*" as equivalent for the teaching. *J.P.S.*, vii, 56.

[3] *J P S*, viii, 131–2.

The following is one of these, which has been selected for reproduction here by reason of its convenient length and its typical form as a sample of the old time *kumara* magic.

The Spell

After ascertaining that the crop is fit to dig the *tohunga* goes to the first hillock planted in the field, armed with a branch of *kokomuka* (*Veronica salicifolia*) as a digging implement, and a string of *toetoe mata* leaf. He grasps the trailing shoots of the *kumara* plant, gathers them up and ties them together with the string, at the same time reciting a spell. He then takes his digging tool, which is rough and unshaped, being simply broken off from the shrub, and begins to dig at the hillock to unearth the tubers, repeating at the same time this magical formula :—

Homai he tina, homai he marie
Whakatau weweru ki tenei ko
Hua kuru ki tenei ko
Hua tai ki tenei ko
Hua kahika ki tenei ko
Hua kareao ki tenei ko
Hua mapou ki tenei ko
Hua titoki ki tenei ko
Hua karangu ki tenei ko
Hua karaka ki tenei ko
Tenei te ko ka heke
Tenei te ko ka ngatoro
Tenei te ko ka haruru
Penu, Penu, te ko Penu.

As neither S. Percy Smith nor Bishop W. L. Williams felt equal to translating the set of *karakia* (spells) of which this is one, it would be presumptuous in me to assume that any rendering of this example which I could give would be at all adequate.[1] Nevertheless the general tenor of the spell is fairly clear ; it embodies a request for an abundant harvest. The first two lines contain an appeal for satisfaction (*tina*) and fortune (*marie*),

[1] The student of to-day can only wish that the Maori scholars of twenty years ago had been less diffident in respect of their ability as translators. A version wherein a few words may be inaccurately rendered or left unexplained is infinitely better than none at all ; and the publication of the Maori text of ancient *karakia* is almost if not quite useless unless those who have at least some comprehension of the meaning of the archaic terms will set down their interpretation of them before it is too late. There will be no Rosetta stone to unlock the meaning of a Polynesian tongue when once the expert knowledge of it has faded.

but the reference to the making ready of a garment (*weweru*) is obscure. Then follows, apparently, a request for a bounteous yield to the spade, that the produce of the *kumara* may be as abundant as the fruits of various trees. Reference is first made to the fruit of the *kuru* (? bread fruit) then to the *hua tai*, the products of the sea, and then follows a list of trees and shrubs, each mentioned by name. The *karangu* is the *Coprosma* shrub, the *kareao* the climbing supplejack, while the others are trees of varying size. From the *titoki* berries an oil was expressed for decorative use; the *kahika* and *karaka* especially were noted for their edible berries. The spell concludes by a further symbolic reference to the digging implement, which is spoken of as if it were the sacred spade Penu mentioned in tradition :—

> " This is the spade that descends,
> This is the spade that reverberates,
> This is the spade that resounds
> Penu, Penu, the spade Penu."

The form of the spell is of interest, as showing the repetition of the same phrases, varied by the substitution of a fresh term in every line. Such is characteristic of Maori *karakia* and indeed of all magical effusions. The two points to be specially noted here are the continued reference to the fruits of the different species of forest trees, and the affirmation that the digging implement is the spade named Penu. The former lines are evidently recited with the idea of exerting magical influence by analogy, the desire being that the *kumara* should turn out to be as prolific as the copious fruiting of these trees and shrubs. The reference to the spade Penu indicates how magic maintains its affiliation with myth. Penu was the sacred spade which in the tradition of the tribe which used this magic was employed many centuries ago by one Kahukura to obtain the *kumara* from Hawaiki (the Maori homeland overseas) for the Horouta canoe, and so introduce it into New Zealand. The spade Penu was also brought in this canoe,[1] as it was an implement of great *mana* (power). To the occasion on which it was used to tumble a whole cliff-side of *kumara* into the canoe may be due the reference to its " resounding " qualities. The constant citation in spells of mythical incidents, or the references to heirlooms and sacred objects deeply connected with Maori tradition,

[1] *Mohi Turei, J.P.S.*, xxi (1912), 157–8.

indicate how myth and legend are continually being drawn upon to supply the background and the precedent for magic.

The interrelation of magic and myth has been worked out in some detail by Dr. Malinowski in several of his writings.[1] As he well says, "Magic is the bridge between the golden age of primeval craft and the wonder-working power of to-day. Hence the formulas are full of mythical allusions, which, when uttered, unchain the powers of the past and cast them into the present." Thus myth is "the historical statement of one of those events which once for all vouch for the truth of a certain form of magic. . . . In all cases it is a warrant of its truth, a pedigree of its filiation, a charter of its claims to validity."[2] One can put it no more clearly and succinctly than this.

We may now turn to ask what it is that economic magic, born in irrational belief and cradled in illusory power, can give to man to justify his tenacious reliance upon it. Its effect in helping to concentrate the faculties upon the work in hand, and provide a useful element of organization has already been discussed. But there still remains one other function, no less important than the rest. The magic of industry has perhaps its greatest cultural value in shielding the Maori from the gnawing of doubt and fear in the face of the unknown, of giving him confidence and assurance to face those forces the effect of which in reality he can neither foresee nor control. Resting his faith on his magic, he is filled with conviction that his labour will in due time yield its fruits.

The discussion of the latter part of this chapter has been concerned with only one native industry, that of cultivation of the *kumara*, but an examination of other branches of productive effort shows that it is truly representative of magico-economic relations. The problems here investigated have already been worked out to some extent in connexion with such typical activities as bird-snaring and weaving, and the conclusions there arrived at support those adduced above.[3]

[1] See especially *Argonauts*, 329, 401 et seq.; *Magic, Science and Religion*, 69–78 (in *Science, Religion and Reality*), and *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, 107–17.

[2] *Magic, Science and Religion*, 77.

[3] Raymond Firth, "Some Features of Primitive Industry," *Econ. Journal*, Jan., 1926, Econ. Hist., No. 1, ibid., "Economic Psychology of the Maori," *J.R.A.I.*, lv, 1925 (reprinted as Chapter IV of this book).

A summary of our results in this inquiry may now be given. The native belief in economic magic was very firm, and no important enterprise could be undertaken without its proper system of spells and rites. At the same time there was no confusion of its effects with those of the technical processes of the work, and no attempt was made to allow magic to make up for absence of effort or skill. Each had its own domain in the scheme of activity. When the sphere of magic is probed and the magical art analyzed it is seen that though its assumption of control over the incalculable forces of nature was illusory, yet it had definite and valuable economic effects. The magic of protection standardized the attitude of the Maori towards the most important economic elements of his natural environment, and forced upon him a realization of their value. Again, it tended to buttress by its supernatural sanction a number of regulations of rational utility. The magic of production exerted a more active influence. It facilitated the concentration of the worker on his task, laid down a basis of organization by which the labour could be regulated, and, most important of all, provided the Maori with that element of confidence in his own powers and certitude of achievement which is vitally necessary to success.

There is no need here to stress the wider theoretical implications of the results obtained in this chapter, as the fundamental problem has already been worked out comprehensively by Professor Malinowski, more particularly in the essay on " Magic, Science, and Religion ". The whole treatment of the present chapter owes much to the suggestive character of his writings. One cannot attempt to set out in brief compass views of such fundamental importance, but it is desirable at least to try and bring the results of our study of Maori economic magic into focus with them.

Dr. Malinowski has shown that magic is an active element in the organization of labour and in its systematic arrangement, that it provides primitive man with a firm belief in his power to succeed and thus enables him to carry out with confidence his most vital tasks. In the Trobriands, the area from which the major part of the data is drawn, " a belief in magic is one of the main psychological forces which allow for organization and systematization of economic effort ".[1] Despite the close con-

[1] *Argonauts*, 395.

nexion between work and magic, however, there is a clear-cut division between them. In gardening, for instance, "there is first the well-known set of conditions, the natural course of growth, as well as the ordinary pests and dangers to be warded off by fencing and weeding. On the other hand there is the domain of the unaccountable and adverse influences as well as the great unearned increment of fortunate coincidence. The first conditions are coped with by knowledge and work, the second by magic." [1] Each then occupies a different sphere. From this the rôle of magic in economic life can be perceived. Thus man never relies on magic alone; at the same time he clings to it whenever he has to recognize the impotence of his knowledge and of his rational technique. To sum up in Malinowski's own words, "The integral cultural function of magic, therefore, consists in the bridging over of gaps and inadequacies in highly important activities not yet completely mastered by man." [2] All this is endorsed by our more specialized study of Maori magic. Whether the roots of magic lie, as Malinowski argues, in the standardization of a spontaneous emotional reaction to an impasse in practical affairs seems to be still an open question. If this be true, it must still be explained why so many magical ceremonies display little if any trace of their emotional parentage. Again, it is somewhat difficult to see how the change from individual spontaneous reaction to socially recognized custom has taken place. Nevertheless this theory, with its pragmatic emphasis, is the most suggestive that has yet been offered as to the basis of magical rites and formulae. The general inquiry conducted by Malinowski into the functional relations of magic in society has demonstrated clearly and convincingly the cultural value of this institution for primitive man.

What the new science of anthopology needs above all, is the testing of theory in the light of intensive research. Methodological principles must be enlisted in the service of specific culture investigation. One hopes to find instruments suited to the work, so that by their aid the inchoate mass of data can be probed, sifted, ordered, and mastered, brought into an organized scheme while still retaining its peculiar character and individuality. The value of a method lies in the insight which it can give into the fundamental nature of specific phenomena,

[1] *Magic, Science and Religion*, 31.
[2] *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, 111

and in this comes the test of its validity. To bring these observations down to the plane of our immediate study—the examination of Maori magic in its proper setting has led to an understanding of its vital rôle in economic life, and thus helps to illustrate the value of the functional method of anthropological research. More directly, however, it brings forward results from an area richly worked for raw material, though as yet poorly surveyed for theoretical generalizations. It thus serves in a small measure to confirm—if confirmation be needed—the conclusions of fundamental import established by Malinowski in his wider field of investigation.

To the proposition of which the proof has just been supplied—the value of magic in economic life—one important corollary may be added. The administration by the white man of native communities in all parts of the world almost inevitably involves the question of the status of magic and its practitioners. In view of the essential rôle of magic in primitive industry—its organizing influence, its effect in concentrating the attention of the native on his work, in providing him with confidence to take up his responsibilities—it is clear that it should not be wantonly or ignorantly broken down or be made the subject of repressive legislation. The practice of magic or "sorcery" should be a craft, if not honoured by the white man, as it is by the native, at least wisely tolerated. Few Europeans realize how greatly the industry and welfare of the native are contingent upon the unimpaired retention of his whole magical system.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII

Mauri and Hau

The vital principle of forests, lands, etc., has in the above description been spoken of under the name of *mauri*. One might, however, have dealt almost equally well with it in the quality of the *hau*. Best has spent much patient research in elucidating from natives the precise meaning of these and allied terms and has made a most valuable contribution to a difficult problem. The exact relation of *mauri* and *hau*, however, in the case of things other than man, he still leaves somewhat undefined. In his earlier work (1900) he appears to hold that the vital principle animating lands, forests, fisheries, etc., should be rightly termed

hau, whereas the *mauri* is the material representation of or receptacle for the same. Thus " the material object that holds or represents the *hau* of land, etc., is termed a *mauri*. Casual inquiry among the average class of natives would lead one to the conclusion that the *hau* and *mauri* of land, and of other things inanimate, are one and the same thing, but I believe the *mauri* to be the material emblem or representation of the immaterial *hau* " (*J.P.S.*, ix, 193). And again (1909), " it will be found that the *mauri* of a forest is a term applied to the material token selected by the owners of such forest in order to represent the vital spark, productiveness, life principle—in fact, the *hau* of the forest." (*T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 436). This is plain enough: The *hau* is the essence and the *mauri* its material repository. But later in the same paper (1909) he indicates that *mauri* may also refer to a vital essence or life principle. Following on some remarks made by Tamati Ranapiri he says, " In the above we see clearly that the true *mauri* is implanted as it were in a stone or other object by means of an invocation or charm called also a *mauri*, simply in order to provide it with a shrine or physical basis. This material object, though called a *mauri*, is not really so, but it represents the *mauri* " (Ibid, 438). And in his later writings (1924) he shows still more definitely that the term can bear the meaning of " vital principle ". " The belief was that the material *mauri* possessed the power of protecting the immaterial *mauri*, or life principle, of man, land, forests, birds, fish, etc., from all harm " (*Maori*, i, 305). Again, " the *mauri* may be defined as the physical life principle " (Ibid, 304). And again, " The *mauri* or life principle is not confined to man, nor yet to the animal kingdom. Everything animate and inanimate possesses this life principle ; without it nought could flourish " (ibid., 306). James Cowan, too, describes the *mauri* as " soul-force " ; " forests and cultivation grounds have their *mauri*, the intangible quality that makes them fruitful as sources of food supply." " Everything," says a Ngati-Porou *tohunga*, " has a *mauri*." (*Maoris of New Zealand*, 107–8). Finally, it is stated by Best, " the term *mauri* is used in two ways ; it denotes the life principle, and is also applied to anything that represents that principle " (*Maori Agriculture*, 1925, 107).

From this it can be seen that Best's explanations are hardly consistent, but that if we accept his later, and presumably more accurate, account, the *mauri* clearly does bear this alter-

native meaning of immaterial essence or material repository, according to context.

Conversely, the *hau* may be a material object, as well as an immaterial essence. "The material *mauri* of a forest that protects its productiveness, etc., is sometimes called a *hau*, and the welfare, the fruitfulness of forest and land is known by the same name" (*Maori*, i, 308). It is clear that both *hau* and *mauri* on occasion can each refer to an immaterial essence or to the material object in which it is localized. That this is so is made plain by Best, who details the different aspects of each, and finally says, "The immaterial *hau* is represented by the material *hau*. It has just been seen that the same difficulty exists in the case of the *mauri*" (ibid., 307). And again, "As with the *mauri* we find that there are several aspects of the *hau*, that the term is applied to material objects, and also to a quality" (ibid., 307).

What then is the relation between these two terms? It is clear that each bears a dual meaning varying with the context, and each refers to certain concepts which the other does not quite cover. Thus the *mauri* is the activity that moves within us; a person may say that his *mauri* has been startled (*oho*), though he would not use the expression in regard to his *hau*. This latter is more akin to his personality. Neither is located in any organ of the body. The *hau* and *mauri* of man are evidently different things. But in the case of forests, lands, fisheries, etc., the distinction is rather difficult to see. As regards the non-material aspect Best indeed says that they are different: "The *hau* of man, of land, etc., is an intangible quality, one of three potentials pertaining to such things. It is the vital essence, but it is not the same as the *mauri* or active life-principle. It represents vital force, vitality—perhaps 'vital principle' is the best definition that can be given" (*Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori*, 1922, 32). Yet the precise relation of the two still remains vague, and if we collate Best's descriptions we find that the distinction which he draws is in reality a purely verbal one. Thus he consistently defines the immaterial *hau* as "a necessary vital principle", "a vital essence", "vitality", "vital welfare", or "life-principle", and the *mauri* as the "physical life principle", the "active life-principle", "vital principle", and so on. In fact he virtually equates the two. He says of the forest *mauri*—the material emblems—that "they

represented the *hau* of the forest—that is, its vitality or vital principle"—and on the same page that "the Maori maintains that forests, birds, fish, etc., also possess this immaterial *mauri* or vital principle" (*D.M. Mon.*, 2, 29). Further he remarks, "Both *hau* and *mauri* seems to be used in an anagogic sense. The *hau* of a forest, of land, etc., is about equivalent to the *mauri* or *mauri ora* of man" (*Maori*, i, 308).

The blurred outline of the distinction drawn between *hau* and *mauri* by our most eminent ethnographic authority allows one to conclude that these concepts in their immaterial sense are almost synonymous. There is apparently a subtle distinction between them in the native mind, though we find that the Maori himself often uses them in certain context as being of interchangeable significance. The difference between them may lie in the more active nature of the *mauri*, in its more intimate connexion with the physical basis; if space allowed one could perhaps draw other fine distinctions. The central point to establish here, however, is that *mauri* and *hau* are terms of dual significance, and that in their sense of an intangible essence they are at least principles of the same order. The extensive documentation given has indicated this, and has also shown the opinion of the most learned of Maori scholars upon the whole problem.

Chapter VIII

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND PAYMENT FOR LABOUR

Principles of Distribution

We have now concluded the main discussion of production, the first step in the economic process. Since all labour is undertaken with some idea of material reward in view, the method of distribution now invites analysis. In effect, distribution, in the sense current in economic theory, signifies the sharing out of the income of the community among the classes and individuals which compose it. The central problem of this aspect of the study is then to ascertain how this matter of apportionment is effected. It resolves itself into two questions, one of mechanism, the other of principle. The first is concerned with the actual arrangements of dividing the product and committing it to the hands of the people who were concerned directly or indirectly in creating it, the second with the set of ideas governing the amount of goods to be allotted to each of them.

The problems of distribution represent a very neglected corner of the field of primitive economics. This is just as true in the case of the Maori as in that of other native peoples; despite the detailed accounts of the productive side of industry, especially in technology, the barest mention is given to the apportionment of the product once it has been completed or obtained. The principle by which food procured in large communal enterprises, for example, is shared out among the workers—a point of great interest in all native societies—can only be vaguely gathered from the comparison of a few scattered facts. My material for this chapter, then, is distinctly inadequate, and though I have endeavoured to piece it out somewhat by personal inquiry, gaps are still patent to observation. These lacunæ I have not attempted to fill by conjecture, as when taken in conjunction with the theoretical framework of the chapter they will help to indicate lines along which further research may be conducted by those in a better position than myself for obtaining first-hand

information. What has been said with regard to the defects of the Maori material might be equally well stated of the economic studies of most other culture areas.

The distributive process is one of high importance in economic life, since the well-being of the community is directly influenced by the particular system in vogue. An ill-adjusted principle of apportioning the product of labour is fraught with the gravest consequences for both the present welfare and the future existence of the people concerned—a point which is the ideological keynote of the socialistic attack upon the capitalist structure of industry in the modern world. Again, the system of distribution reacts upon the process of production. The material reward gained is a potent incentive to work, and the ideas held about the equity of the method of sharing the reward strongly influence the extent of co-operation in production.

In primitive society the whole mode of procedure in the distribution of the product of industry is much more rigidly defined by custom than in our own society, where theoretically at all events, and in practice to quite a large degree, the elements of free competition and bargaining are the prime determinants. Yet it must not be thought that the primitive system is quite stiff and inflexible. Traditional rules form its basis and the hold of custom is strong, but precise regulation is often absent, and the control exercised by public opinion allows of modification and adjustment to suit a specific set of conditions. One great point of distinction is immediately noted between the process of distribution in civilized and in primitive society; the classical division of the product of industry into wages, rent, interest, and profits which obtains in the former cannot be made in the latter case. Generally speaking, in a native community the different agents of production, as normally conceived, are comprised in the one set of persons, who exercising these several functions apportion the reward among themselves by simple means.

Among the Maori, the land was owned by the community and utilized only by persons having immediate rights thereto; the capital for the enterprise was supplied by the workers themselves, who provided their own food and tools, while the initiative and skill in direction came from members of the working body. In some cases, which will be discussed below, the working capital of a large undertaking was provided in the shape of food by a

chief or man of rank, to whom the initial stimulus was due, and who shouldered the "business risks". But only by an undue extension of terminology could any share of the resultant product be separated out as "interest" or "profits" for him. The central aim was the creation of some object of social value—a house of assembly or a large canoe, to be utilized by the community. Associated motives were the desire of the chief to increase his reputation as a public benefactor and the nominal possessor of fine property, and the wish of the people to share in the prestige and to be provided for a season with welcome supplies of food. But the principle on which the chief worked was not that of securing a fine building for the minimum expenditure of wealth, but rather of lavishing his goods on the people in the expectation that they would respond by work. A rough measure of the value of the building or canoe was the amount of goods distributed to accomplish its production. The aim of the entrepreneur in this case was not material profit, but the creation of objects of value and increase of personal prestige. The Maori system of distribution was thus closely bound up with the structure of communal life and the particular social sentiments concerned with prestige and the giving away of wealth.

The correlation of the scheme of distribution with social structure is borne out by an examination of the different types of the distributive process, which vary also according to the scale of the activity pursued.

Within the sphere of family pursuits the mode of apportionment was simple. Goods which were manufactured for personal use, as a spear, a bird-snare, or an ornament, remained to serve the individual as the reward for his labour. Again, as with articles of men's apparel woven by the women, the product might be transferred from the actual maker to another person of the household, while in other cases the product was shared by all, as with food. The mats plaited by the wife were used by herself, her husband, and children for sleeping purposes, she wove garments for herself and her spouse, the calabashes and other utensils she prepared went to the common service of the household, while the shell-fish, berries, and other foods she collected and made ready were consumed by all at the common meal. The husband in his turn brought in the catch from the day's fishing or the birds which fell to his spear, and these passed

A. MAORI SPADES

Examples such as these were used more particularly in constructing the earthworks of a hill fort (*pa*). The normal type of digging implement in agriculture (*ko*) had a narrow blade and a tread lashed on to the face. (British Museum Collection.)

B. A NATIVE LADDER (*ARAWHATA*).

These notched poles were used to obtain entrance to *pataka* (storehouses on posts) or to climb palisades.

[*face p.* 274

into the family stock. Here the mode of distribution rests upon the principle that each individual of the household makes his own contribution to the general stock of goods and draws upon it according to his relative needs, while reciprocity guarantees the effectiveness of the system. As with individual, so with family labour—the tilling of agricultural plots, the working of rat-runs and birding trees, and other productive enterprises were managed upon this system of giving reciprocal services and sharing the product on the basis of needs.

A large number of undertakings in the Maori economy transcended the working power of a single individual or family, and were performed by necessity or from reasons of greater efficiency by a large party of people drawn from the general village community. The production of food-stuffs is of special interest in this connexion, owing to the importance of food in Maori eyes, and the great amount of time necessarily spent in securing it. Agricultural work and certain kinds of fishing and fowling were performed on a large scale by communal labour. Concerning the division of the product, information is scanty, and mention not merely of details but even of the main principles of distribution is usually thought superfluous by ethnographers in this field. In some cases the product seems to have been placed in communal storehouses and drawn upon as occasion required to meet village needs or the demands of hospitality. In other cases, as in agriculture, the work was done as a communal affair, all the village population turning out *en masse* to give assistance, but the field was divided into a number of plots, each the property of a family. From these the crop went with the household stock. But in other types of activity the product was obtained as the result of the joint labour of a number of persons, and was then shared out among the workers and their dependents at the close of the day.

This may be exemplified by consideration of several modes of fishing—the selection of this occupation allowing the study of the scheme of distribution to be related to that of the productive processes described in Chapter VI.

On the Whanganui River eels are caught in large numbers by traps set from weirs when the floods of early autumn come down. The trap is emptied every few hours and the catch put into baskets or corfs. At some convenient time the headman of the village apportions the catch among the different families.

The baskets are brought to the *marae*, the village square, and there are emptied on to the grass. The chief then counts out the eels and places them in a number of heaps, each representing the share of a family group.[1] The distribution continues until the catch is exhausted. The women then come and each removes the eels which have been allotted to her household. The exact principle of division is not explained, but it is presumed that the number of eels placed on each heap is roughly proportionate to the size of the family group for which it is intended. A heap of fish or game so set aside for a family is termed *inati*, and to apportion food in this manner is *whakainati*.[2] An interesting commentary on the place which food occupied in Maori eyes is given by a custom which obtained among the Urewera and possibly other tribes. When fishermen or hunters brought in a large haul of fish, birds, or rats their women in the village proceeded to *titihawa*, that is, to dance, caper about, and chant an *umere* or song of joy.[3] This is evidently a public expression or conventional fixation of the emotional attitude proper to the occasion.

In passing, a simple and effective way of sharing a common prize may also be noted here. If a travelling party caught an eel for their supper it was impaled on a stick, cooked before the fire, and then served up by the stick being placed upright in the earth amidst seven or eight Maori, each of whom pulled off a bit with his fingers as required. Very much the same principle is followed by the natives in communal meals even at the present day.[4]

A method of distribution similar to that described for the eels was followed in apportioning the fish caught by netting. Thus Dieffenbach notes that fishing was carried out in common, and that an old man "acting as umpire" divided the catch into equal portions, according to the number of families which assisted in the work. When this was done the man walked round and with a stick pointed out the heap assigned to each group. Shares were also set aside for strangers who might be present or for

[1] See Best, *J.Sc.T.*, v, 1922, 108–9, for illustration and notes.

[2] The same terms are also used at a feast, where *inati* = the individual portion rom the *tahua* or stack, and *whakainati* = to divide into portions (Williams); cf. Chap. IX.

[3] Best, "Maori Forest Lore," *T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 474.

[4] F. L. Mieville, writing of experiences in 1854 (quoted by H. Beattie, *T.N.Z.I.*, lii, 59).

white men settled among the tribe. An " umpire " also apportioned the goods received from an exchange of land.[1] An actual instance of this method is afforded by the distribution of the catch made by Te Pokiha at Maketu with his great net, as described in Chapter VI. The details are given by Captain Gilbert Mair.[2] After the vast haul was landed the work of carrying the fish above high-water mark and of distributing it began. The chief marked out thirty-seven places, stationing a man at each to keep the tally, and the catch was counted out on to these spots. When 500 fish had been laid on each he directed that 250 more should be added, and then another like number, so that each mound contained 1,000 fish. The majority of the heaps were then made over to the various *hapu* of the Arawa. When this task of apportionment had been accomplished a large number of sharks and sting-ray still remained on the beach, and those who wished might take them away. Here also one may note the common practice of allotting to visitors a share of the product of any large communal undertaking at which they happened to assist or be present. Such a donation to guests of part of the spoil was a mark of etiquette, indicated a polite recognition of their rank, and also tended to increase the reputation of the hosts for generosity. In this case the phenomenal catch rendered such lavish treatment unusually easy to carry out.

The best note on the system of apportionment of the fruits of communal industry is given by Te Rangi Hiroa, in his description of the method of netting *inanga* from canoes.[3] When the canoes came ashore with their catch, the women were waiting with baskets, and all received their share. " In those communistic days nobody went away empty, but, at the same time, a distinction was made in favour of the workers." As was usual, a man was appointed to portion out the catch, and doled out the fish in double handfuls into the waiting receptacles. It was necessary that he should be an upright person who would

[1] *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, ii, 124. *Note :* This system of distribution of the proceeds of work was also carried out when the Maori had to deal with the receipts from other transactions with the European. Thus the present writer, while engaged in investigating the kauri gum industry on the Northern Wairoa, was told by a merchant that in the middle of last century large quantities of the resin were brought by the natives in flax kits for sale. The kits were piled in a heap, a price was struck, and the money handed over to the chief man present who then divided it among his people. (Cf. *Some Economic Aspects of the Kauri Gum Industry*, 1924, 4.) v. also the distribution of the goods received for the sale of Whanganui (T. W. Downes, *Old Whanganui*, 320, 188 et seq.).

[2] *Reminiscences and Maori Stories*, 21–2.

[3] Te Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck), *T.N.Z.I.*, liii, 1924, 441–2.

not favour his own relatives and provide them with an unduly large share. The criterion of distribution is interesting. " More was given to the women of those who had got wet skins through working. The phrase used was *' Engari tena ; he kiri maku '* (That one is right ; a wet skin.) On the other hand, when the women-folk of a non-worker approached with their baskets the cry was *' Hirangi, hirangi he kiri maroke '. Hirangi* means ' not deep ', hence the significance of the phrase is easily understood. ' Not deep, not deep ; a dry skin.' "

These few examples, especially the latter, illustrate fairly well the main mechanism and principles of apportionment. The method varies according to the particular type of activity, and also according to the kind of fish dealt with. The *inanga*, for instance, being a tiny fish, could be given out in double handfuls to people with baskets ; the larger fish, such as eels, *kahawai*, etc., could be handled singly and counted out. It is interesting to note that fish caught by the line generally seem to have been retained by the person who secured them. In some districts, fishing canoes for such work were fitted out with a series of permanent baskets or net bags in the middle of the hold, so that each man could keep his own catch separate from those of his companions. In the shark-fishing of the Northern harbours each man kept his own fish apart, and there was no apportionment of the combined catch. In some cases notches were cut in fins or tail, to enable fishermen to identify more easily the sharks which they themselves had caught.[1] The reason for the absence of any regular system of distribution of the total catch among the community in this case is probably that the size of the fish and the fact that they were caught individually on the hook, and the comparative ease of identification of single specimens, rendered any such system unnecessary. *Inanga* or other fish caught in a large seine net, and eels trapped at the village weir, cannot be so treated and assigned as the product of the labour of any one individual.

This mechanism of the apportionment of communal products is characteristic of Maori social life.[2] As its central point is the

[1] R. H. Matthews, *T.N.Z.I.*, xliii, 601.

[2] A somewhat similar system of apportionment of the produce of communal enterprises appears to have been followed by the Moriori of the Chatham Islands. With reference to the birding expeditions made to the rocky islets off the coast I have been told by Mr. W. Baucke (8-9-1923) that the catch would not be at once divided on return to the village, but that the birds would first be cooked and potted in kelp bags, after which each man would take his share.

control by one man over the disposal of the aggregate supplies it is essential that he be a responsible person who will not be induced to give special favour to relatives or friends. Very often the headman of the village or kinship group took charge of the proceedings himself, in other cases the allotting of the shares was done by a man appointed by him. It may seem at first sight as though the system held grave possibilities of injustice and corruption. But the sense of responsibility is strong with a Maori placed in such a position, and he realizes that he is there to consult the interests of all. Then public opinion is always ready to act as a check upon any suspicion of unfair division.[1] Freedom of speech and a conscious firm belief that individual advantage should be subordinated to the common welfare combined to provide efficient regulation of conduct in the Maori village. In matters of moment the final decision always rested with the assembly of the people. They generally fell in with the opinion of their chiefs, but these could take no effective action until that agreement had been obtained. It is to this necessity for gaining the consent of the community in full assembly before being able to follow out a desired course of action of any importance that the development of the arts of oratory to such a high level, especially among the people of rank, was undoubtedly due.

In the distribution of wealth, as in other social affairs, public opinion acted as a decided force of regulation, at times latent, at others manifest. A modern instance, which, however, is analogous to old Maori custom, illustrates this point. When Ngati-Manawa sold the large area of land known as the Kaingaroa plain, twenty-nine persons were chosen as representatives of the tribe and the purchase money, fifteen thousand pounds, was handed over to them for distribution. A select committee was occupied two days and nights in preparing a scheme for the division of the money, and from time to time the list was read out to the assembled people for discussion and correction. At last

For the work itself, each *hapu* used to go separately in a boat of its own. White men were not allowed, and offers of money to the Moriori to allow them to participate in such expeditions were refused. Mr. Baucke, however, owing to his knowledge of the *karakia* and ritual necessary to ensure success, was permitted to take part, since he could be trusted not to bring disaster on to the expedition by unwary actions. At the same time, though he had a boat of his own, he was not allowed to use it, but must accompany the *hapu* of his friends in their own craft.

[1] Cf. J. White, *A.H.M.*, iii, 80–1.

on the third day consent was unanimous, and the list was nailed on the front of Tangiharuru, the carved meeting-house facing the public square, where all might consult it. At the same time minor lists were made out and approved for the subdivision of the money after its allotment to the twenty-nine representatives, and also for the distribution of one thousand pounds to certain respected visitors.[1] If one wished to characterize in a few words the Maori system of distribution of the product of communal enterprise one might term it a delegated executive authority of persons of rank, held in check by public opinion.

To lay down adequately the central principle which animated this method of apportionment of goods is difficult from the data to hand. However, it is clear that it was considered that all the members of the community were entitled to share in the product of any large-scale activity. It would be incorrect to picture the Maori distributive system as an idyllic kind of communism, but it is true that the manner of apportionment of goods—or food, at all events—bore direct relation to the needs of the people. Starvation or real want in one family was impossible while others in the village were abundantly supplied with food. Nor did this give the opening for idleness which one might expect. Here, again, the force of public opinion stepped in, and for sheer peace the would-be slacker was obliged to defer to it and make some show of assuming his proper responsibilities. Proverbs and traditional tales also contributed to this end.[2] Moreover, some allowance seems to have been made for skill and energy in securing the product. As Te Rangi Hiroa has shown in the case of *inanga* netting, a larger share of the catch was given to the dependents of those who had " wet skins ", i.e. who had taken an active and efficient part in the labours of fishing. In other words, a premium was given to performance. An examination of the system of distribution in other food pursuits would probably disclose some similar method of rewarding workers and penalizing the idler.[3] In general, then, it may be said that the principle of apportionment of food gained by communal work is that of distribution

[1] Gilbert Mair, *Reminiscences and Maori Stories*, 67.

[2] See the writer's " Proverbs in Native Life ", *Folklore*, 1926.

[3] An illustration of this principle of proportioning reward to contribution is given by Dieffenbach. He states that in agriculture every family had its own field, and the produce was its private property. But occasionally the head of the tribe instituted a kind of sale, not compulsory, however, to which the various families brought their produce. The proceeds of this were then divided among them, according to the contribution of each (*Travels in New Zealand*, ii, 124).

among the whole community on the basis of relative needs, tempered by some regard for contributory services in production.

Later we shall have to examine the process of distribution on a large scale, in other types of economic activity, but before this can be done it is necessary to observe the whole question from another angle. So far we have been considering the apportionment of the direct product of industry; but in a number of important undertakings the reward of the worker came to him from goods already produced and in the possession of some other member of the community. To grasp the nature of this process, then, it will be necessary to gain some idea of certain aspects of the accumulation of wealth among the Maori.

Accumulation of Wealth

For the effective accumulation of wealth a certain psychological appreciation of continuity between economic goods and their use is essential. There must be an appreciation of future as well as present needs, a conscious desire for more than immediate satisfaction, finding expression in the exercise of restraint upon consumption. Forethought is a necessary condition of accumulation. With the Maori, food was a species of wealth of the greatest importance. Under some circumstances it was consumed immediately after being obtained, but often a surplus was deliberately produced, and was carefully retained for future use. To enable this conservation of supplies to be carried out effectively a great variety of methods of preserving foodstuffs had been evolved, each adapted to the peculiar properties of the substance to be treated. The valuable root crops were carefully stored in pits, the fern-rhizomes on stages, the drupes of *karaka* and *tawa* were treated by steeping and drying, while *hinau* and *tutu* berries, *raupo* pollen and roots of the *Cordyline* were each preserved by special methods. Of many kinds of sea-fish the Maori made large store in the summer season, drying them for winter use, while eels, whitebait, crayfish, *pipi*, freshwater mussels, and other molluscan fauna, as well as a kind of edible seaweed, were all treated in such a way as to preserve them for a considerable period. Birds, a special delicacy, were cooked and packed in gourds or vessels of bark or kelp, filled with their own melted fat. So sealed, they kept for months, gaining rather than losing in flavour meanwhile. Such a commodity was termed

huahua manu. Rats were preserved in similar style and were then called *huahua kiore*. Such calabashes of preserved game were highly esteemed, and, decorated with carved wooden legs and mouthpiece, and tufts of feathers, were brought out to grace the festive board when men of rank were dined. Speaking of the *tui* or *koko*, Pio of Ngati Awa said : " This bird provides food for man, the rich *huahua*, only eaten on important occasions or by chiefs, often kept for ritual and social feasts. You cannot equal *huahua* as a food ; it is unrivalled." [1]

It has been maintained by some writers, as, for instance, by K. Bücher and C. Gide,[2] that the savage is a person who displays no real foresight in economic affairs, that being incapable of thinking far in advance of his immediate needs, he makes no attempt to accumulate any reserve stores of wealth against future contingencies. An examination of Maori economic operations can easily refute such careless statements about the improvidence of uncivilized man. The varied modes of preserving food alone, and the care taken to ensure the retention of large reserve stocks, indicate a high degree of intelligent anticipation of future needs.[3]

The motives which lay behind this accumulation of wealth, especially in the matter of food, were of a somewhat complex kind. The main incentive was no doubt to ward off the effects

[1] Best, " Maori Forest Lore," *T.N.Z.I.*, xli, 1908, 269. For detailed information on the preservation of food v. W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xiii, 21, 26, 42 ; ibid., xxiv, 1891, 461–3 ; Best, ibid., xxxv, 1902, 52–7, 79–83, 91–2 ; ibid., xlii, 474–6 ; *The Maori*, i, 426, 430 ; ii, 489, etc. ; *Maori Storehouses*, passim ; *Maori Agriculture*, 118–19, 136 ; Te Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck), *T.N.Z.I.*, liii, 450–1 ; lv, 619–20, 622, 630, 634, 638.

[2] Bücher, *Industrial Evolution*, 12, 17, etc., Gide, *Principes d'Économie politique*, 1906, 632. H. Ling Roth (*J.R.A.I.*, xvi, 116–18) supplies many quotations from writers of similar opinion.

[3] The careful planning of industry and the provision for agricultural operations long in advance of the time for planting (as noted in Chapter II) illustrates the same economic forethought. The diligent search for timber suitable for canoes and the marking of it for felling in later years exemplifies the care for future needs (J. C. Johnstone, *Maoria*, 117), as also the practice of cutting away on one side the bark of a growing tree so that in time the natural decay would facilitate the later hewing of it into a useful craft (v. Tone, *J.P.S.*, xi, 124 ; W. H. Skinner and T. N. Brodrick, ibid., 192). In 1834 Marshall remarked on the stores of wood in the Waimate *pa*, all the pieces being cut in equal lengths and piled up with the most perfect regularity and compactness against the walls of the shed. " In the number of these stores and the abundance of wood contained in them, no little foresight was exhibited. The wood being cut at stated seasons in a sufficient quantity to last for several months." (*A Personal Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand*, 1836, 213.) He also noted the quantity of fish dried and smoked as a prudent provision against scarcity (ibid., 215). Cf. also Crozet, *Nouveau Voyage*, 60–1. The regulations connected with the preservation of game to avoid undue depletion of young birds, etc., further illustrate this point (Best, *J.P.S.*, xxi, 107).

of future scarcity. And times of scarcity of food were by no means rare in olden days, at least in districts with less prolific resources. This often occurred on the coast when the weather was too rough to allow the fishing canoes to go out, and in the forest settlements of the interior before the season of bird-snaring began. Failure of crops or mould among the stored tubers gave embarrassment to the agricultural tribes. As Best remarks : " Food ever occupies a very important position to the native mind. Their thoughts, conversation, proverbial sayings, and stories deal frequently with the subject. This probably springs from the fact that food was difficult to procure in the old days, and called for almost continuous effort in one way or another, hence such work occupied their minds almost as much as their time. Each month, as it came round, in all seasons, had its task for the bushmen, birds or rats to be caught or certain berries to be gathered and preserved." [1]

But the desire to provide against a non-productive season was not the only motive which stimulated conservation of food. The need for meeting social obligations was also an important contributory factor. The calls of ordinary hospitality were heavy, and the death of one or two prominent people of the village meant alarming inroads into the stocks of provisions, since the ensuing *tangi* (funeral ceremonies) necessitated the liberal feeding of great numbers of guests. As the proverb says," *He mate tino tangata, tena e renga mai*"—" When a great chief dies, crowds of mourners flow in." [2] The accumulation of foodstuffs was an essential precaution against shortage in certain seasons of the year, but was conditioned by social obligations in addition to personal needs. Again, great pride was taken in having plenty of food, irrespective of actual or potential requirements, and the abundance of resources was eagerly displayed before guests. On the other hand, one does not find among the Maori the boasting about crops and ostentatious parade of the harvest which characterizes some other Pacific peoples. As a rule, the news of the size of the crop was kept quiet, lest unfriendly tribes hear of it and be disposed to attack the owners. For a stranger to ask about the yield of the *kumara* might be taken as an insult ; at best the answer would be evasive. Again, visitors were not

[1] " Food Products of Tuhoeland," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 1902, 46.
[2] Sir Geo. Grey, *Moteatea*, 46 ; ibid., *Whakapepeha*, 20.

encouraged at harvest time because of the *tapu* attaching to the proceedings [1]

One further point still arises at this stage—whether the accumulations of wealth amassed by the Maori really represent true " saving " in the economic sense. By this term the modern economist means not only the exercise of restraint in consumption and the damming back of a certain quantity of goods to repair wastage and to meet future needs, but something more—the augmentation of existing wealth, the real increase of capital. In the absence of any statistical data the extent of saving in the Maori economy cannot be estimated. It is clear, however, that a new carved house or war canoe brought into being by the diversion of quantities of conserved food-stuffs to the maintenance of the builders represents the creation of new wealth, and thus may be termed the result of saving in the more exact sense of the term.

A question of some importance for the understanding of native economic life is the relative distribution of wealth among the various classes of the community. With the Maori there were none who were very rich, nor were there any—beyond the slaves—who would be considered as extremely poor in comparison. Nevertheless, this broad equality of possessions did not invalidate the fact that the chiefs were in a much better economic position than their humbler followers. Much of the most valued accumulated wealth of the society was in their hands, as, for instance, the greatest delicacies in the way of preserved food-stuffs, the prized ornaments such as the feathers of *huia* and *kotuku* (white heron),[2] the *mako* shark-tooth ear-pendants, *heitiki* of greenstone or of whale's tooth, and the finest cloaks, as the *kaitaka* with decorative borders, or the mantles faced with dogskin. Then the large canoes, carved houses, and noted heir-looms, things highly valued, were if not actually owned by them, at least under their control as trustees for the tribe. These heirlooms, generally ornaments or weapons, gave dignity to a chief by his possession of them, stood for his insignia of rank, and contributed to his prestige when he exchanged them—by tacit consent of his people—on occasions of ceremony.

[1] Evidence as to concealment of information about the size of the crop, evasion of questions, and lack of display is given by Maning, *Old New Zealand*, 156–8; W.B., *Where the White Man Treads*, 14.

[2] The gauzy plumes which overlap the tail feathers of the white heron were highly valued. They were termed *awekotuku;* cf. the name Te Awe-kotuku, borne by a present Arawa chief, as also by several of his ancestors.

Some portion of this wealth was obtained by the chief through his immediate control of sources of supply—ownership of private cultivations and rights over birding-trees and fishing-grounds, in the working of which he was materially assisted by his household of wives and slaves, which was much larger than that of the ordinary commoner. But various privileges also tended to add to his income. According to Colenso [1] the *ariki* (principal chief) possessed peculiar rights to certain sea mammals, such as the whale, porpoise or dolphin, cast ashore within his territories, or to any white heron seen on his lands. He also exercised rights of appropriation over flotsam and jetsam when the neighbouring shore was uninhabited,[2] while goods hidden on the land and remaining unclaimed after a considerable lapse of time passed into his possession when found. Plunder in war also tended to augment the property of the chiefs. Among some tribes, at all events, it seems to have been the custom to present the *ariki* with the firstfruits of crops or other resources, a portion cooked, but the greater part in natural state,[3] while annual presents were often made to him by a chief of lower rank at harvest time. Hence the proverb, "*He titi whangainga tahi*"—"A *titi* of one feeding," meaning that even as the young of this species of petrel is supposed to get fat though only fed once by its parents, so the chief is supported by these yearly contributions.[4] Again, those who wished to obtain a favour from their chief prefaced their request by a gift of some sort.[5] Tribute, too, swelled the possessions of an *ariki*, whether from vassal tribes or from people settled by permission on lands over which he exercised control.[6] This latter aspect of the question may be briefly developed, as it has a direct bearing on the problem of distribution.

When, as sometimes happened, a family or the people of a village obtained the usufruct of a piece of land or forest for a season, a gift of a portion of the produce was always made by them to the owners of it. This is the nearest equivalent to *rent* which the Maori had. But one must always be careful in equating

[1] W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 1868, 24–5.

[2] Archdeacon Williams (D.) gives one meaning of *koha* as property cast ashore and claimed by the owner of the land. Its general significance is that of gift.

[3] Hare Hongi, *J.P.S.*, ii, 120. Firstfruits offered to the *ariki* are termed *kaimua* (Williams, D.).

[4] W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xi, 103.

[5] An illustration of the manner in which presents were made to chiefs of standing is given in the story of Paoa (Grey, "On the Social Life of the Ancient Inhabitants of New Zealand," *J.E.S.*, i, 1868, 350–1).

[6] S. Locke, *T.N.Z.I.*, xv, 443; E. Best, ibid., xxxvi, 22; Best, *J.P.S.*, xii, 165.

native institutions with our own. In this case the gift is made not so much by way of compensation to the owners for the loss they sustained in allowing others to utilize their resources, as a sign or token (*tohu*) that the ownership remained with them. If the gifts were omitted and no protest were made by the *ci-devant* owners, then this would be sufficient to allow the users of the land to found a claim to it. On the other hand, it appears that such tribute was often refused by the owners. If it were accepted it might be construed as giving the person the right to live on such lands, or, at any rate, to use them in perpetuity.[1] This, perhaps, seems rather confusing, but the point at issue appears to be that the tribute must be offered annually as acknowledgment of ownership of the land, but should it be once accepted, then it confirms the right of usufruct, a right which otherwise remains at the goodwill of the owners from year to year. Whether taken or refused, the gift must, of course, be made on subsequent occasions. The custom is somewhat analogous to our peppercorn rental. The real concern is with the ultimate right to the land, not with the temporary usage of it. Hence the payment made to the owners of the soil is not of the nature of true economic rent. If historically minded one might be tempted to lay down a pretty theory of the origin of rent in land from a custom of this kind. But the erection of such hypotheses is outside the scope of this inquiry; moreover, it is of little profit to the student of the morphology of institutions.

In former times it seems to have been a custom for a chief of distinction to call upon the people of neighbouring *hapu* who were related to him to come and work his forests, or to procure birds and fish for him from their own resources, and present them to him. This was a gift from free men, not tribute from vassals, and was probably made in recognition of the leading position of the chief in his tribe. In the story of Te Akitu-o-te-rangi of Wairarapa, as related by Tunui-o-rangi, some interesting details of this are given.[2] It is told how this chief sent his messengers round to the neighbouring people, asking them to comply with the custom and supply preserved birds for his use. The people of one *hapu* collected ten *taha* (calabashes), and after a journey of several days reached the *pa*. On their arrival the calabashes were placed in a *tahua* or row, as was customary in presenting food,

[1] Best, "Maori Forest Lore," iii, *T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 457–8; cf. ibid., 434.
[2] *J.P.S.*, xiii, 126–7.

and Te Akitu was sent for to receive the gift. The chief man of the party then arose and made a speech in presenting the food, explaining which case contained his own contribution. Te Akitu then advanced, uncovered the top layer of leaves in the calabash, and examined the contents, finding the receptacle quite full. This happened with all the others except the last, which was little more than half full. "Now a full case was the proper thing to present. To offer less was to *whakahawea* or despise the recipient." As a result the man whose calabash was lacking in quantity was afterwards slain by order of Te Akitu and thus supplemented in his own person his inadequate gift of supplies. No attempt was made to avenge his death. It is interesting to note also that this present of birds was recognized by giving a feast to the donors, an example of the reciprocity which usually obtained in all transactions involving a transfer of goods, even from dependents to their chief.

Again, presents were sent to a chief by his relatives in other districts, and numerous gifts were also made him whenever he travelled through the territory of another tribe. The economic advantages of chieftainship in this respect are revealed in the proverb: *E whai i muri i a Rehua, kia kai ai koe i te kai,* "Follow after Rehua that you may obtain plenty of food," i.e. join the party of a chief when travelling and you will always be hospitably entertained. Another saying which is better known is: *Haere i raro i te kahu korako,* "Journey beneath the wing of the white hawk," implying also that the companions of a travelling chief fare well in the matter of food and gifts.[1]

To a chief of high rank the people of his own tribe also gave hospitality and made gifts when he happened to visit their villages. If he were an *ariki* (supreme chief), the headman of each hamlet at which he called would set before him the choicest of provisions, while some special dainty in the way of food would be laid at his feet as a present. The motive for this was twofold; it was an honouring of the guest, and also an honouring of the *marae* (village square) of the hosts. The reputation of the local people for hospitality and punctilious conduct towards a noted guest was thereby maintained.[2] The manner in which the dependents of a chief contributed to his economic well-being is further illustrated by the description of the behaviour of the powerful

[1] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 99; ibid., xli, 257.
[2] Best, "Maori Marriage Customs," *J.R.A.I.*, xliv, 156.

Te Kiwi of Tamaki. This man used to visit the various villages round the district, staying with each as the season arrived for the particular food product for which that place was noted. Thus at the season for birds' eggs he would stay at Takapuna, while the young men of the place visited the islands off-shore to procure them. When the shark fishing came on in March he would stay at Te To (Freeman's Bay) or at Mangere, while when people caught the *kuaka* (godwit) he would reside at Mount Albert. When the harvest time arrived then he returned to his own village at Maungakiekie, to be on hand to direct operations in his capacity as *ariki*.[1]

The quantity and value of these gifts tended to increase with the rank and hereditary position of the chief in the tribe, his prestige, and the following which he was able to gather around him. But the relationship was by no means one-sided. If the income of a chief was largely dependent on his prestige and influence and the regard of his people, this in its turn was contingent upon his liberal treatment of them. There were constant calls upon his resources. His slaves and immediate dependents had to be fed, he was expected to assist those of his tribesmen who came to him in need, a crowd of relatives—and the Maori bonds of kinship stretched far—looked to him for a generous repayment of all the small social services they rendered him, and for an occasional *douceur* as a mark of appreciation of their loyalty. When presents of food-stuffs were made to him by people of other tribes his regard for his reputation required that he should distribute a considerable portion of them among his tribespeople.[2] For all gifts made to him a return was expected, of equivalent or even greater value. Even in the case of tribute, some counter-present, however small, was usually given. Thus if the vassal tribe lived inland and its conqueror near the sea-coast, the former would perhaps send choice baskets of preserved eels by way of tribute, and be repaid by a portion of dried shark.[3]

Again, the calls of hospitality were never-ending. Entertainment had to be provided on a lavish scale for visiting chiefs and their adherents. This burden lay more heavily on men of rank and influence, since the greater the fame of a chief the greater the number of visitors who flocked to see him and enjoy his

[1] S. Percy Smith, " Peopling of the North," *J.P.S.*, vi, 79–80.
[2] J. White, *A.H.M.*, iv, 98 ; Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 101.
[3] E. Shortland, *Southern Districts of New Zealand*, 161.

hospitality. Moreover, on occasions of the birth, marriage, or death of any people of rank in the village his personal resources were drawn upon to a serious extent, while the occasional provision of a large feast also drained him of food supplies. In this connexion he seems to have exercised control of the communal stores of food which he commanded to be disbursed as required.

If the chief's use of wealth be reviewed, then, it is seen that to the varied sources which provided him with his stores of goods corresponded a number of serious liabilities. The result was that a sort of equilibrium was maintained between income and expenditure. In general, at no time was the chief the possessor of immense quantities of valuables, though the system of receipt and redistribution of goods allowed a great quantity of them to flow through his hands. His wealth was utilized largely for his own aggrandisement and influence, it is true, but in so doing it contributed greatly to the material benefit of his people. The analysis of the situation makes it clear that this extensive command of wealth tended greatly to increase the authority of the chief of his tribe. In short, his economic position buttressed his social status.

We have now to consider the situation when the process of distribution does not represent the simple partition of the product of industry among those who have been engaged, but a rewarding of their labour from what may be termed external sources—from the prior accumulation of goods by other members of the community.

This may best be treated under two heads, the payment for individual services and the settlement of obligations in the aggregate by a communal feast.

On the whole, the Maori economic system, as indicated in former chapters, offered little scope for any extensive scheme of specialization of labour. Hence the exchange of goods against productive services was not a widespread practice. Certain persons in the community, however, were specialists in a craft, and as such obtained at least a portion of their income through payment for the work which they performed for others. A person who required a stone adze, for instance, but was not skilled in the making of such an implement, would commission an expert to manufacture one for him, and on its completion would hand over a garment or a present of food as payment. This question has been discussed already from the side of production. Carvers also

obtained remuneration for work performed at the instance of other people, especially if, as sometimes occurred, they were brought from another tribe to undertake the task. The *tohunga ta moko* or tattooer was perhaps the most outstanding economic specialist in Maori society, and was well rewarded for the exercise of his skill. Presents of garments, food, and ornaments were given to him, some of these latter often being of the valued greenstone. Conflicting statements have been made as to the persons entitled to bear the *moko*, the blue-lined tattoo, some writers holding that it was a sign of chieftainship and could not be displayed by commoners,[1] others that it held no peculiar significance of rank, and could be worn by anyone who was willing to suffer the pain of the operation and pay the tattooer's fee. The crux of the question really lies in the last qualification, a point which is often missed. It is certain that the *moko* in itself was not a mark of rank or chiefly dignity. But since payment of a considerable kind was essential to induce the tattooer to perform his offices it was only the men of position, and consequently of some wealth, who could afford to have the embellishment in full detail. For, as explained above, the greater proportion of the wealth of the community lay in the possession of people of rank. Hence, as a rule, a commoner, being a poor man, could afford only a sufficient present to obtain a few lines on cheek and brow, or to secure the services of an inferior craftsman. In so far, then, as the tattoo was borne mainly by chiefs, it was correlated with their economic position rather than with any social privilege.[2]

[1] As an example of erroneous statements of this kind v. *Les Missions Catholiques*, tom. 15, 1883. " Le tatouage avec toutes ses variantes est la marque distinctive des diverses conditions. Les chefs ont seuls le privilège de se peindre les jambes . . . Les gens du peuple et les esclaves sont bariolés sur le dos. Ces marques sont héréditaires et les enfants se font honneur de porter celles de leurs aieux " (83). These remarks on the hereditary nature of tattoo among the Maori, and its being a mark of the particular social status of the wearer, are quite inaccurate. Cf. the reliable observations of Best. " Tattooing was not employed by the Maori as any form of tribal mark, nor was the embellishment confined to members of high-class families. . . . Hochstetter's statement that certain designs were peculiar to the tribe, others to the family, and yet others to the individual, are assuredly incorrect. Minor differences there were, as among the designs observed on different individuals, but such differences were not marked for the purposes of tribal, family, or individual identification. The matter of design was settled by the preference of the tattooed one, or the design sketched by the artist." *Maori*, ii, 445–6; cf. also H. G. Robley, *Moko*, 81, to the same effect, and the collection of opinions by H. Ling Roth (*J.R.A.I.*, xxxi, 47–50).

[2] See E. Shortland, *Southern Districts*, 17; J. Buller, *Forty Years in N.Z.*, 171. For payment of the artist v. Wakefield, *Adventure in N.Z.*, 425; G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes*, i, 315; R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 322; J. White,

Another specialist of extreme importance to the community life and endowed with functions of a socio-economic nature was the priestly expert, or *tohunga* as he is commonly known.[1] By reason of his knowledge of spells and magical technique, and also of his general command of practical subjects, he was continually requisitioned to officiate at the crises of life, such as birth, marriage, and death, on occasions of baptism, war, illness, loss of property by theft, attempts to gain someone's affections or to lay a curse on an enemy. In major economic affairs, also, the *tohunga* took a leading part. For all these services he was accustomed to receive some form of remuneration from the particular people who benefited from them. It may be argued that the functions of the *tohunga* in this respect were not truly economic, in that he did not contribute thereby towards the wealth of the community. It could be maintained with truth, however, that in his capacity as magician he was of genuine assistance to the productive activities of his people (cf. Chapter VII, " Magic in Economic Life ") ; but this point is not of great moment here. Whether the services of the *tohunga* can be regarded as economic or not, the fact that he regularly received payment for them in economic goods, and so influenced the trend of distribution, is sufficient to bring these transactions within the scope of our present discussion. In reply to questions of mine some remarks on the revenue of the *tohunga* were once made to me by Mr. W. Baucke, an authority on matters Maori. He stated that the *tohunga* did not receive any stipend or customary payment from his tribe. As a rule, he was given his food, though this was not always the case, and Mr. Baucke has known cases where *tohunga* have cultivated their own patches of garden. Usually the priest managed to obtain some of the choicest portions of food for himself when it was being apportioned. There were two typical occasions, however, when he received definite payment. If one *hapu* had a *tohunga* of note, and a neighbouring group happened to have none, then his services might be borrowed by the latter for some particularly important purpose. In this case

Maori Superstitions, 129 ; T. H. Smith, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxvi, 1893, 435 ; H. G. Robley, *Moko*, 98 ; W. Brun, *Wirtschaftsorganisation der Maori*, 54 ; Best, *Maori*, ii, 555. See also Grey, *Moteatea*, 57, 58–60, for *Whakawai tanga moko*, songs to divert the attention of persons who are being tattooed.

[1] The term *tohunga* simply means an instructed and therefore skilled person. Various qualifying words were added to denote his precise occupation (see Chap. VI). But as skill in any branch of work also implied mastery of magic the general term was sometimes used alone to denote a priest.

some return would be made to him by the *hapu* which had made use of his skill and magical powers. Again, for services rendered to particular individuals of his own tribe payment was rendered to him. Thus if a man's wife was taken ill and he called in the priest he would give the latter a cloak or some similar article, or if perchance a catch of eels had been made the night before, the *tohunga* would receive part of his client's share in addition to his own.

The priests who officiated at the ceremony of dedicatory baptism or naming of a child of rank were not paid for their services according to any bargain previously struck, but were rewarded by gifts. Sometimes these were not made immediately after the rite was performed, but were postponed for several years until the *pokinga taringa*, the ceremony of piercing the ears of the child, had taken place, which happened about the age of four. As soon as the child was able to run about, a pendant, perhaps of greenstone, was hung about its neck, at least on socially important occasions. This, after the ear-piercing was over, might be removed from the child and given to the priest who had performed the baptismal ceremony. In addition, some other prized article such as a fine cloak might be presented, in which case the cloak would be laid before the recipient and the pendant upon it. Quite a system of etiquette pertained to the offering of gifts. They were never placed in the hands of the person, but were laid on the ground before him. A cloak was spread out with collar towards the recipient, a weapon laid with haft towards his hand. As a rule some of the finest presents were given to such *tohunga*. When several had taken part in the ceremony the gifts were laid in front of the chief priest, who would then hand over a portion to each of his assistants.[1]

It is difficult for a person reared in the surroundings of an alien culture to realize the position which the priestly *tohunga* held among the Maori of old. He and his accumulation of sacerdotal lore were not regarded as merely pleasant accessories to the economic or social undertaking, but as vital elements in organic

[1] Best, "Ceremonial Performances pertaining to Birth," *J.R.A.I.*, xliv, 1914, 156–7. Mention of payment to the *tohunga* for services is also made by A. Earle, *Nine Months Residence in N.Z.*, 137; W.B., *Where the White Man Treads*, 40; Best, "Notes on Art of War," *J.P.S.*, xi, 56; *Maori*, i, 246. Other writers refer to the practice of obtaining the services of a *tohunga* from another tribe, e.g., W. S. W. Vaux, *J.R.A.I.*, v, 455; R. C. Barstow, *T.N.Z.I.*, xi, 1878, 74; W. Colenso, ibid., xiii, 1880, 10; W. Yate, *New Zealand*, 147; W. Brun, *Wirtschaftsorganisation der Maori*, 55.

co-operation with the more tangible factors of work and practical conduct. Hence the gifts made to him for his participation in these affairs must not be regarded simply as compliments to his office, but as payments for essential services. The Maori was emphatically of the belief that in compensating for the assistance of the *tohunga* by a garment, an ear pendant, or a basket of food, he was decidedly accounting for value received. Such is the typical relation between the magician and his clientèle among all peoples on the less civilized culture plane. Hence the popular talk about the " exactions " of the witch doctor or sorcerer who makes his living by the practice of magic is largely beside the mark. It quite fails to realize the essentially commercial nature of the whole transaction. As W. E. Gudgeon points out, in his very readable essay on the Maori practitioner, the services of the *tohunga* had a real market value in the eyes of the tribe so long as there was no doubt as to the efficacy of his spells, which latter depended very much on his own personal *mana* (prestige).[1]

As was usual with the Maori, the payment to the *tohunga* was made in the form of a gift. Sometimes, however, the presentation of the article to him seems to have been not so much a rendering of an economic equivalent for his services as a setting of the esoteric seal upon his efforts. When it was a question of performing love magic or of bewitching an enemy, the gift was made partly with the idea of giving *mana* or force to the rite.[2] The net economic effect on priest and client was, of course, the same. Esoteric beliefs came to the surface again when a man had been taught the most sacred lore of family or tribe in the *whare wananga*, the house of learning. In this case, as mentioned in Chapter VII, no payment of goods could be made to the priest for his services as teacher of the ritual. If this were done then the *mana* or psychic force of the spells would be destroyed by contamination with these things, devoid as they were of *tapu*, and consequently the magic would be deprived of any power, would fail in its effect, and the sacred matter taught would never carry any weight or prestige with the scholar. Only for the imparting of black magic could compensation be exacted—the priest had the privilege of naming the first person to be killed by the pupil. This must be done to ensure and test the efficacy of his newly acquired powers. Such a person was usually of close

[1] " The Tohunga Maori," *J.P.S.*, xvi, 64.
[2] Best, " Maori Magic," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxx, 37.

kin to the pupil. " The anguish of slaying a relative or friend was the price paid by the scholar for the services of the priest." [1] This is somewhat of a digression from the subject of economic reward, but it is necessary to make clear the trend of belief which makes this exception to the giving of payment for services rendered. In most parts of Melanesia, on the other hand, as is well known, compensation for handing over the knowledge of magical formulæ is given by large payments of goods.

On the determination of the rate of reward for the services of specialists such as carver, tattooer, or magical expert, little can be said here. There was no exact standard, nor anything resembling a definite price for such work. A rough scale of values was in operation, and according to the length of time taken, the acknowledged skill of the expert, and the social importance of the work, the gifts made in return would tend to vary. In general, the decision as to the amount of payment lay with the client, whose liberality would also be bounded by his temperament and his resources at the time. Regard for his reputation, and, if the other party were a priest, fear of giving offence to a powerful personage, no doubt also influenced the nature of his gift. In most cases it would be fairly easy to gauge the wishes of the other party, and to suit the gift accordingly. Since the amount of the gift lay at the discretion of the client, extortion by the specialist was prevented on the one side, while on the other, niggardliness of the donor was controlled by the potential appeal to public opinion with its stimulus of criticism. Hence there were in practice certain limitations to the possible range of payment. All this goes to indicate that the forces of custom did not impose a rigid scale of rewards for services, but that, circumscribed in amount and somewhat stereotyped in nature as the gifts must have been, the economic arrangement allowed of a considerable degree of fluidity which was not without advantage to the society.

A subject of even greater interest is the system by which the workers were rewarded in the large communal undertakings, such as the construction of a superior carved house. In this the interrelation between the social and the economic position of the chief is plainly shown. His was the privilege of initiating the enterprise, of providing the stimulus to production, and his also the function of supplying the recompense to the workers

[1] Best, *Canterbury Times*, 6th Jan., 1898; cf. John White, *A.H.M.*, i, 13; Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxx, 37; ibid., xxxiv, 92.

for their labour. This he was enabled to do only by his possession of considerable stores of wealth, accumulated from a variety of sources, and, despite the inroads of guests and dependents, saved to provide the capital for the new undertaking.

To illustrate this, the construction of a new meeting-house may be considered. This undertaking has already been briefly discussed in Chapter III from the side of social organization, while the productive aspect has received attention in Chapter VI. Here our interest will be confined as far as possible to the question of distribution.

As already mentioned, a great part of the cost of the house was met out of the accumulated wealth of the chief; the communal stores of the village also were undoubtedly drawn upon for supplies. Usually the builders of the house were members of the tribe on whose lands it was being erected; sometimes, however, persons expert in woodwork and carving were induced to come from other tribes and give assistance or direction in the task. In any case there were generally some people from other villages taking part, and the system of distribution was practically the same. As a rule, an initial feast was given by the home people prior to starting on the task, in order to attract visitors and put the workers in good heart for the coming toil. Later their interest was kept from flagging by interim gifts of food, apart from the daily meals which were contributed by the hosts as a matter of course. *Henga* is a term applied to food supplied to a working party, according to Archdeacon Williams. In native tradition it is recorded that the ancestor Hua, having rough-hewn a canoe and had it dragged from the forest, collected food for those who had performed the task and also for the men who were continuing to work on it. These people he continued to supply with provisions until the constructional work was completed, the food being daily heaped in long rows with the most savoury morsels placed on top.[1]

The completion of the work on the house was signalized by a great feast, to which village people, builders, and relatives in neighbouring *hapu* were invited. The object of the feast was primarily social, to celebrate the erection of the building and to give the people an opportunity of seeing and admiring

[1] J. White, *A.H.M.*, ii, 15.

it under auspicious circumstances. But there was also a strong economic consideration, since the hospitality of the feast served to repay all those who had taken part in the labours of building. The mechanism of the process was in essentials the same as has been discussed in the earlier pages. The mountains of food—actual quantities will be discussed in the following chapter—were heaped on the *marae*, and the village people and their guests, including, of course, the builders in a place of honour, if they were from a stranger tribe, were seated around. The master of ceremonies, armed with a small stick as wand of office, apportioned the stacks of food among the various groups present. After the usual speech-making was concluded, each *tahua* was borne off by the people to whom it had been allotted, and if the groups were large it was then subdivided by the immediate headman into smaller portions termed *inati*.

The bulk of the food was supplied by the chief who was responsible for beginning the undertaking, and thus were the workers rewarded for their toil. For the mass of unskilled labour utilized in dragging the heavy timbers from the forest and in raising the baulk of the ridge-pole into position, the daily provisioning and the concluding feast were sufficient reward. The skilled workers, however, the builders, the specialists and experts in timber dressing, carving, thatching and reed-work, of whom no great number were engaged, received additional recompense. Valuable gifts of fine cloaks, greenstone and feather ornaments, adze-blades and the like were made to them. Here again the accumulated wealth of the chief played a principal part.

The factors influencing the amount of goods handed over to the builders in recompense for their skill and labour are much the same as those already observed to operate in the payment of individual specialists. There was a rough idea of equivalence, more lengthy or more skilled employment being proportionately rewarded. The object was to send the builders home satisfied to their tribe, chiefly, as it seems, with the idea of maintaining the reputation of those who made the gifts. This is exemplified by what happened after the building of the well-known house Hotunui for Ngati Maru at Hauraki in 1878. The construction was mainly in the hands of a party of about seventy Ngati Awa from the Bay of Plenty under the chief Wepiha Apanui and others. When the builders were returning to their own place they would not accept any payment beyond the food and presents which

had been given them from time to time during the course of the work. Finally, they departed, after the refusal of all further gifts. When they had gone the local chief, Te Hotereni Taipari, felt ill at ease, saying that Ngati Maru had not sustained their ancient name for generosity. Hence he dispatched his daughter-in-law Mereana Mokomoko, a sister of Apanui, to Tauranga to overtake the builders. There she met them, and handed over to them a packet of money, saying " Behold, I have brought you a *koha* (gift) from your grand-parent Hotereni Taipari ". " One thousand pounds in single bank notes did I give them, and Ngati Awa went on their way rejoicing." So was the *mana* of Ngati Maru kept up.[1]

Of course a limit to the amount of reward which it is possible to give to the builders of such a house is imposed by the actual quantity of food and property in the possession of the would-be owners. Several factors enter in here, such as the net yield of the annual produce, and the saving which can be effected in this over and above the quantity needed for normal consumption. To accumulate sufficient food to supply the workers engaged in the construction of a large carved house must have taken a considerable period, and the reserve stock was liable to be raided at any time to provide for the mourning feasts attendant upon a death in the village. It is probably as much for this reason as for any other that some carved houses seem to have taken quite a number of years to build, the work being discontinuous. There was a certain flexibility, however, in the relation between productive capacity and the provision of capital. The desire to build a new house or to accomplish some similar work led on occasions to the extension of cultivation or other food-procuring activities beyond the normal limit. This elasticity of productive capacity was an important factor in the provision of feasts. It will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, when other economic aspects of the feast will be reviewed. The crux of the situation usually lay in the power of the stimulus which actuated the people. In this respect the concentration of wealth in the hands of the chief was of social advantage, since

[1] G. Mair, " Building of Hotunui at Thames," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxx, 41. The story was narrated to him in 1897 by Mereana herself. It may be noted that a great service would be done for the study of native economics if collectors would only obtain in addition to technological information the details of the manner of payment for the labour involved in the erection of communal houses or similar structures.

his desire to increase his own prestige, coupled with the wish to benefit his tribe, gave point to the general incentive and helped to translate it into action.

This analysis of the process of distribution in the Maori economy has shown the variety of the means by which the full volume of the product of labour was broken up into component streams flowing out to reward the workers and satisfy their household needs. The appropriation of goods personally manufactured, the apportionment of a common product among the members of a working party, the system of family sharing, the payment of specialists by gifts of valuables kept in reserve, and the rewarding of the workers in large communal enterprises by the mass consumption of stores of accumulated food, each served to make effective the distribution of wealth. This was assisted in large scale affairs by the principle of partition and repartition which ensured a wide sharing of the product. Each part of the scheme, too, was fitted to the organization of family and tribe. Even the tendency to absorption and re-distribution of goods by persons of rank in the community helped to facilitate the creation of new and important items of material wealth, and also to support established authority.

These conclusions are not merely of local interest, but indicate the importance of the study of the problems of distribution in any native community. From our examination of this aspect of Maori economics we are now led to consideration of the native feast.

CHAPTER IX

THE FEAST

With the Maori, as with most Pacific peoples, the feast was an institution of great cultural importance. It was always an affair of excitement and pleasure, it represented the pinnacle of satisfaction in community life, the focus of interest for months ahead. It gave scope for generous display both of provisions and of the personal accomplishments of those who attended. It offered, too, a peculiarly favourable opportunity for selective friendship and sexual choice. The feast also played a valuable social rôle in providing the occasion for the meeting of different groups and promoting harmonious relations between them. Food had a very mellowing influence when it was a question of patching up tribal differences.

In the preceding chapter we considered the part played by one type of feast in acting as the channel of distribution for rewarding the workers in a communal enterprise, but this has by no means exhausted the economic aspects of the institution as a whole. It is true that the feast is primarily a social affair, even at times partaking of the nature of a ritual ceremony, and as such hardly seems to come within the scope of this inquiry. But since it involves a definite orientation of production, the preliminary accumulation of large quantities of goods, and the organized transfer of them through regular channels to diverse sets of consumers, its economic effects are sufficiently far-reaching to demand attention.

As a general rule the entertainment provided for the remuneration of workers after some piece of communal labour was supplied by the chief who initiated the proceedings. With other types of feast the custom varied, some, usually the smaller, being given by individuals or their immediate relatives, others by the whole community. For the large inter-*hapu* or inter-tribal feasts which are discussed below the entire tribal resources were mobilized, since no individual, however well endowed, could sustain such a burden alone. The initiative in these affairs,

however, was taken as before by the chiefs, who directed the preliminary preparations and supervised the whole.

The feast was the inevitable accompaniment of tribal conferences and marked the completion of nearly every important social activity. The subjoined list indicates in brief compass the main occasions of such gatherings.

Occasions of Feasts

Feasts marking *crises of life.*

1. After *koroingo* or *maioha* ceremony, the greeting of a new-born child of high rank by the assembled people. *Present*, father and mother of child and persons of nearly related *hapu* on both sides. Gifts of food and articles made to child. Parents and near relatives ate apart from people.
2. *Toki* rite of baptism. Feast given by child's parents to community. Might be postponed through poverty of parents (Best, *J.R.A.I.*, xliv, 152).
3. *Tua* rite of naming child. Mataatua tribes; four separate ovens used for persons of different social status (Best, *Maori*, ii, 21).
4. Tattooing young person of rank, as chief's daughter. Feast given by father to people of village. Sometimes representatives of neighbouring tribes invited.
5. Marriage (usually a series of feasts), e.g. given by
   (i) man's relatives to wife's, followed by
   (ii) wife's relatives to man's.
   or (i) wife's relatives to man's, followed by
   (ii) man's people to wife's when first child born. Wife's relatives then bring presents of food. (Best, *Maori*, i, 470–1.)
6. *Tangi* for dead. Feast given by immediate local relatives to visiting relations. A special ritual feast also held after return of burial party.
7. *Hahunga* or exhumation of the bones (Yate, *New Zealand*, 139).

Feasts marking *periodic events of economic or social importance.*

8. At conclusion of planting season.
9. At *kumara* harvest in March.
10. Firstfruits of bird-snaring, rat-trapping, etc.
11. New Year festival in June, at appearance of Pleiades or Rigel.
12. Opening of season of *whare wananga* (House of Learning).

Feasts *facilitating social integration.*

13. To summon allies in war.
14. To celebrate peace between two tribes. Both parties ate together, an unusual feature in inter-tribal feasts.
15. To mark arrival of visitors of note.
16. Discussion of special points of tribal policy.
17. Repayment of obligations (return feast; *paremata, haukai*).

Economic Feasts.

18. Commencement of large scale economic undertaking, e.g. building communal house.
19. Completion of same.

It may be noted that in this analysis a *feast* is considered as being held in furtherance of some other object than the satisfaction of ordinary physical needs; it is an integral part of some social activity. It is concerned not only with the actual consumption of food, but also with a complex set of activities

surrounding this event. Thus is it distinguished from the plain meal which in large villages might assume comparable proportions. The general term for a feast is *hakari*, a word of which variants are found in other parts of Oceania.[1]

The classification of feasts is not a question of great moment, but it has a certain value from the light which can thus be incidentally thrown on the nature of the institution. Best divides Maori feasts into two broad categories—ritual and social. The former comprises those which pertained to functions of a religious nature, as baptism or mourning for the dead, while the latter represents those which partook more of the nature of friendly gatherings, as at the reception of some important visitor of rank.[2] This broad classification is quite useful and embodies a real sociological distinction. It is interesting to note that the Maori also divides all feasts into two classes, but on a different basis from this. His criteria are empirical and are quite consistent with his mode of thought, revealing his conception of what constitutes the two primary divisions of life. He classifies feasts according as they come under the *mana* or sway of Tu, the god of war, or that of Rongo, representative of the arts of peace.[3] But this division, though it illustrates the native manner of thought, is not of great assistance to us. A better working classification would seem to be made by considering the principal end which the gathering was intended to serve. On this basis one can separate out—roughly, it is true—four main types of Maori feasts.

In the first place, there are those of which the object is to signalize some important event in the career of the individual; these tend to revolve around or be oriented towards the great crises of life, such as birth, marriage, and death. Thus a glance at the schematic list shows that the first three types of feast are linked up with the phenomenon of birth: the object of one is to crown the acceptance of the new-born child into its group of relatives; another is to mark the bestowal on it of a name and therefore standing in the community; while the third (which in some tribes is conjoint or identical with the former) is to celebrate the dedication of the infant to its future career. The series of marriage feasts marks another stage in life, to which such events as the celebration of tattooing are preparatory.

[1] Cf. Mangaia *akari*; Trobriand *sagali*; Koita *hekarai*.
[2] Best, *Maori*, i, 379. [3] Best, ibid., 379.

Again, the feasts at the *tangi* for the dead, at the return of the burial party, at the exhumation of the bones some years afterwards, all centre around the final crisis of existence, and tend to emphasize the importance of the individual who has gone. Taken together, the feasts of this first type mark the progress of the life history of a person in society.

Feasts of the second group are designed to mark certain important periodical economic or social occurrences, as planting, harvest, the New Year, or the taking of firstfruits from the forest.

In the third category may be placed those feasts of which the pre-eminent aim is social linkage, more especially the forging of bonds between different groups. Such are the feasts which knit peace between two hitherto hostile tribes, summon allies in war, welcome visitors or provide an occasion for the discussion of tribal policy.

Those of the fourth type are distinguished by their primary economic aim, as when a feast is held to pave the way for the erection of a new meeting-house, or to reward the workers who have hauled a canoe from the forest.

Classification of feasts along these lines does appear to systematize the diversity of data and to give a clearer survey of the institution as a whole, while at the same time preserving in each case its intrinsic relation to the particular ceremony or event concerned. This broad division does not, of course, imply any rigid demarcation as regards the character of the feast, since one event might serve several ends. Thus a feast held at the exhumation of the bones of the dead was primarily of a ritual nature, and hinged upon the wish to commemorate the departed one. But it was also a social function where games were played and much conversation indulged in, and a business meeting where tribal affairs were discussed and arranged. A feast given to the builders of a house, again, was in the main an economic affair, yet it is often hard to determine whether the principal motive was that of rewarding the workers or signalizing the completion of the work. Certainly both ideas were present. In general the rôle of every feast was to increase good fellowship among the participants, to give a tone of satisfaction to the whole proceeding, no matter what its nature might be.

Since it is manifestly impossible here to deal adequately with all varieties of the feast, it will be best to select a few principal types of primary importance to our thesis, and through

the analysis of these to investigate the main problems involved. The economic feasts attendant upon an important piece of work, the series of marriage feasts, and the inter-tribal feast for social purposes are the most outstanding examples, and may be briefly reviewed in turn.

The Economic Feast

This type of institution had diverse functions to perform. The entertainment provided after the erection of a new house, for instance, gave payment to the workers for the expenditure of their time and skill; it celebrated the fact of completion of the task, and signalized the social importance of the building; it gave a suitable occasion, too, for the display of the fine workmanship on carved slabs, reed-panels, and ridge-pole.

The part played by this kind of feast as an element in the process of distribution was discussed in the last chapter, but one problem still remains to be considered. What was the value of such mass entertainment as compared with other possible modes of rewarding the workers? As will be seen later, it was wasteful in time and provisions; a method of direct payment to individuals singly would seem to have offered decided advantages both to owner and builder. The distinctive character of a feast, however, as compared with the ordinary methods of remuneration, was that it involved the assembly of all the people engaged, and a certain amount of ceremonial procedure. Through this, several advantages were obtained indirectly for the work.

The sociable character of the gathering was one of the most important considerations. The sight of the heaped-up food and the opportunities for conversation, jesting, and sport were attractive to people and combined to give a cheerful tone to the assembly. The satisfaction which the builders felt at receiving compensation for their work was considerably heightened by these social amenities. The expectation of them gave a strong inducement to participate when the call for labour came. The feast which concluded an important task, then, was an effective way of settling obligations since it ensured that quantities of willing labour would always be forthcoming for every projected enterprise. When, as was usual, an initial feast was held to inaugurate the undertaking, the quality of the work itself was improved thereby, as the whole atmosphere under which the event was launched was such as to give a verve to the energies

of the people engaged. The solidarity of the working party was also increased. Groups of people from various villages became better acquainted with one another, the bond of common purpose was strengthened by the social contacts of the festivities. Co-operation in labour was thereby accomplished more easily. In the same way knowledge concerning the plan of operations was more widely and completely diffused than if the workers had been gathered together without this medium. Looked at from the wider sociological standpoint, the feast, as a means of rewarding people for work done or to be attempted, is seen to be of peculiar value through its attractive appeal, its tonic effect upon labour, and its facilities for welding together more strongly the party of workers. It provides a stimulus to economic effort of a very useful kind.

It may be noted in passing that no attempt seems to have been made by the donors of the feast to limit the number of workers who attended—that is, the recipients of their hospitality. In the processes requiring quantities of unskilled labour, as in the raising of a ridge-pole into position or the dragging of a log, it was possible to add to the number of workers without obtaining any proportionate increase in the efficiency of the labour, though such persons had to be fed just the same. This thought, however, does not seem to have troubled the Maori. Notions of restriction of the working party in order to obtain the maximum of labour efficiency for the minimum of food expenditure were not characteristic of his economic psychology.

A point of interest in regard to the relation of the feast to productive enterprise and the creation of new forms of wealth lies in the relative preponderance of the various types of such gatherings. With only a limited quantity of food supplies available, the number of feasts that would be held within a given period was definitely restricted. If, then, marriage, death, or exhumation ceremonies required the entertainment of crowds of visitors, feasts of the less obligatory type could not be held. Since the creation of important new forms of wealth, as a meeting-house or a sea-going canoe, was largely contingent upon such functions, the special productive powers necessary to their manufacture might have to remain quiescent for want of the customary stimulus. The depletion of the tribal stores for other social purposes resulted in a lack of capital with which to initiate production.

Marriage Feasts

Marriage among the Maori was by no means an unregulated cohabitation; it had its own series of rites and ceremonies, in which the feast played a prominent part.[1] This marriage feast had both a legal and a social character. Among its most important effects may be reckoned the ratification of the union of the young couple, and the linking together of the two kinship groups concerned.

There were two main types of marriage feast among these natives. One, termed *umu kotore*, was more particularly of a ritual nature, special food being cooked apart for the relatives of the wife, while the mass of the people partook of food prepared in other ovens. This was associated with the marriage ceremony of persons of high rank, but from its rarity is of less interest to us here, though in some cases very extended preparations were made to provide the necessary supplies.

A more common type of feast is connected with the custom of *pakuwha*, a formal handing over of the wife to her husband, a practice which obtained at most marriages of persons of any status in the community. Here a definite reciprocity in entertainment was the rule, and the chain of feasts and gifts imposed a number of economic obligations on both parties.[2] This custom is still observed in a modified form in some districts. The *pakuwha* may take place either at the time of marriage or some time after the pair have been cohabiting. In any event the initial proceeding is the visit of the wife's relatives, on invitation, to the village occupied by the husband's people, bearing with them the young bride. On arrival they may find waiting for them a new house, the *whare pakuwha*, specially erected for their accommodation, and previously kept closed against all entry Description of the formal reception, greetings, and speeches which take place may be omitted. During the preceding months great preparations have been made by the hosts, and large supplies of food have been accumulated to do honour to their guests. The feast at which these are consumed is termed the

[1] A good account of Maori marriage customs is given by Elsdon Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 1903, 14–67; cf. also *Maori*, i, 469–74. From this the following data have been taken.

[2] One of the most important of the gifts attendant upon marriage seems to have been that presented by the bridegroom to the father of the bride. The name of *kaihāpainga, kaireperepe,* or *kaupapa pakūwhā* was applied to such a gift (Williams, D.). The ordinary term for a gift was *koha*.

whare tuatahi, or first house, in allusion to the building of the special house of entertainment. Etiquette prescribes that it shall be given by the husband's group to the *hapu* of the wife. It is possible that the custom of the northern tribes differs from this since in those districts, it is recorded, the first feast is provided by the parents and other relatives of the girl. The husband's people then reciprocate on the birth of the first child, on which occasion the wife's relatives make them substantial presents of food supplies.[1]

After the speech-making is concluded food is brought to the visitors by a procession of village people, each bearing a basket of provisions, which are placed in a row in front of the *whare pakuwha*. As they retire the guests come out from the house, and, seating themselves before the meal, partake of it. Gifts of food are also brought in baskets into the house—this probably only in modern times—and may be consumed by the wife's relatives during their stay, or may be taken away with them to their home. They are composed of the best kind of provisions, among the inland tribes preserved birds usually playing a prominent part. Following this the people of the village then bring in their other gifts, fine cloaks, capes, weapons and ornaments being most favoured, and lay them at the feet of the young married pair, who are sitting together in the house. Each person as he brings his present says merely, "*Tenei te taonga ki a koe*"—"This is an article for you." The gifts are made to the husband, but for him to keep them for himself would not be *tika* ("correct"); it would be a grave breach of etiquette. When they have all been laid before him, he in his turn rises and presents them to his wife's relatives, keeping none either for his wife or himself. "*Kati ki a raua ko te mana*," says the Maori. The prestige of the thing is enough for them. On the following day a large pile of food, termed *tahuaroa*, is stacked upon the *marae* (public square) and presented to the guests. The visiting party, after staying several days at the village of the husband's people, then return home.

[1] Best, *Maori*, i, 470. Even in other districts a reversal of the usual order is apparently possible. Thus Best says that the second feast, the *whakahoki pakuwha*, was given by the woman's relatives. Yet he also notes that Paora of Tuhoe married a Ngati Raukawa woman, and after the young couple had lived first at his home and then at hers, they returned again to his village, escorted by some of the wife's people. These were entertained by Paora's relatives. "This latter was a *whakahoki pakuwha*," says Best, though it was hospitality given by the husband's kinsmen to those of the wife. ("Maori Marriage Customs," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 1903, 46 and 49.)

In due time, having gathered together a sufficient quantity of food to keep up their reputation and to compare favourably with the hospitality which they themselves have received, they give the return feast. Here the same procedure is followed, the husband's people, with the young couple, being in this case the guests. They are entertained as before, and have presents made to them in reciprocal fashion.

These marriage feasts were thoroughly enjoyed by the Maori, as they tended to relieve the tedium of life by introducing the variety and excitement of travel or the reception of guests, and provided plentiful entertainment in the matter of choice foods. They were also the occasion of merriment and agreeable social intercourse. This does not disguise, however, their economic framework, nor the basis of reciprocity upon which they always rested. Whether the initial entertainment came from relatives of husband or wife, it had to be repaid in kind, and it was understood that for the presents so freely given an equivalent return would be made later. Thus the marriage of two persons of rank imposed heavy obligations upon the two groups concerned, requiring the amassing of food supplies and the accumulation of much other wealth. The transfer of this to the other community and receipt of an approximately equivalent amount from them helped to reinforce the bonds of social dependence created by the marriage. One other factor which must be noted is the part which the desire for prestige played in the affair. Each party strove to provide a feast worthy of the hospitality it had received and of its own name for liberality. More striking still is the conduct of the husband, who when gifts are made to him by his relatives, distributes the whole of them among his wife's people, securing for himself only the prestige of the affair. He could retain such gifts, but then he would be judged as ill-bred, and his social repute would be severely damaged.

The Inter-Tribal Feasts

Into the consideration of feasts of the inter-tribal type we shall enter in more detail, since being commonly built on a larger scale than the former, they exerted a greater mass effect on the life of the people whenever they occurred. They were given by one *hapu* or tribe to the representatives of another, not as part of marriage or similar ceremonies, but to cement a wider social

alliance or to facilitate the discussion of some points of tribal policy. The analysis of the preparation and conduct of an affair of this kind is of interest from the light it throws on the Maori economic situation. From this point, too, it will be convenient to branch off into some general observations on the native feast as a whole.

In every society there is a distinct connexion between the economic system of the people and their beliefs and ideas clustering around food, though in some the reaction is more marked than in others. With the Maori this attitude gave a decided orientation to productive effort. In considering the inter-tribal type of feast it will be seen how the best energies of the people were absorbed for long periods of time in securing food which was consumed in a few hours, often gluttonously and even wastefully. Why this ardent concentration of the forces of production should be simply directed to serve the ends of a temporary and spendthrift enjoyment seems at first difficult to explain, and severe strictures have been passed upon the hapless Maori for his improvident ways. It will be remembered, however, that in ordinary time the native was fully aware of the virtues of thrift, and could practise a very strict economy of food with an eye to future needs. It is clear, then, that in following this reckless procedure he must have been actuated by some strong set of motives. These we must understand in relation to their social setting before venturing to pass judgment on the merits of the institution.

With the Maori, food, as has been pointed out before, was an object of respect and more than physiological concern. And the central motive in impelling the native to utilize it in the lavish fashion of the feast was the desire to get reputation and influence thereby. The basis of the correlation of food with ideas of prestige and dignity is not absolutely clear. But to my mind the aura which in native eyes surrounds the possession and display of this commodity is in essence an exaggeration of a very practical attitude, of which the kernel is the realization of the value of food to man. Sense of the vital utility of food, sentiment for it and respect for its possessor, admiration for the display of it and for those who invite to the consumption of it—such a sequence of ideas goes far to account for the prodigality of the feast.

From the theoretical standpoint this socio-psychological

situation forms the skeletal framework around which the other elements of the institution are built up.

Preparations.

In olden times preparations for a feast of any size were quite elaborate. When the final decision had been taken, strenuous efforts were made to accumulate supplies of food. New ground was planted with *kumara,* birds and rats were taken in the forest and preserved in gourds to serve as dainty morsels ; if the village were near to the coast fish were caught in large quantities, and shell-fish collected from the banks and dried. Certain inland districts were famed for their special products, such as *koura* (crayfish) at Rotorua, and *inanga* (whitebait) on the Waikato. Efforts were always made to include large quantities of such a delicacy in the food supplies, especially to delight the appreciative taste of the visitors. Sometimes the event was planned on such a large scale that the initial labour was begun more than a year before the feast itself was timed to take place. Thus Angas remarks that at the time of his visit to the chief Te Wherowhero, about 1,000 of his people were engaged in planting *kumara* on the lands at Whatawhata, preparatory to a great feast which he intended to give to all the Waikato tribes in the ensuing summer.[1] Sometimes insufficient time was allowed to complete the preparations, and the feast had to be postponed from the appointed date.[2] When the greater part of the work had been accomplished and the accumulations of food were nearing the desired amount, the invitation was sent out to those *hapu* or tribes whom it had been decided to entertain. Much formality characterized both the sending and the reception of this invitation ; as many as a dozen persons might form the band of messengers (*ope whakareka*), the request to attend was delivered after the manner of a chant, with the employment of much poetical and allusive phraseology, and the reply was made in the same formal manner. Sometimes the invitation was declined with the excuse that the people had no fitting present to take with them as a gift (*paremata*) to their hosts when they arrived at the festival.[3] Such a gathering was attended by people of both sexes ; indeed, the village of those invited was often left

[1] G. F. Angas, *New Zealanders Illustrated,* text of plate 36.
[2] W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 359.
[3] Best, *Maori,* i, 381–2 ; cf. R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Naui,* 343.

practically deserted through the eagerness of all the inhabitants to take advantage of the proffered hospitality.

Meantime, the final preparations were being undertaken by the hosts. Abundance of fresh food was obtained, stacks of firewood were heaped up, and oven stones collected ready for the cooking. The food, both fresh and preserved, was placed in baskets plaited from *harakeke* (*phormium tenax*), and these, piled one on top of another, were stacked in long rows on the *marae*. Baskets of *kumara* (sweet potato) formed the base of the stacks, surmounted by other vegetable food, *taro*, fern-root, forest berries, and topped off with fish, birds, and other flesh foods. These latter were the *kinaki*, the relish to the more bulky vegetable food. Calabashes of preserved birds or rats were displayed in a prominent position. These, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, were deemed particularly tasty by the gourmets of old, and so were placed as the centre piece of the feast. In describing a presentation of *huahua* to Rewi Maniapoto and his party at Waitara in 1878 it was reported: "Maoris consider preserved birds the most valuable article of food that can be obtained, and generally speaking it is only the principal chiefs who are able to enjoy such luxuries." [1]

In the northerly district of the North Island huge stages or scaffolds were built to support the food, and tree trunks of quite large size were used in their erection. Yate, Wade, and Thomson all describe such *hakari* stages, and it is obvious from their accounts and somewhat crude sketches that an immense amount of labour was necessary to construct them, measuring as they did upwards of 50 feet in height. Some were conical, while others were of the shape of a triangular prism. Colenso states that the food was generally piled up in the form of a pyramid, 80–90 feet high, and 20–30 feet square at the base. A straight trunk of a tree was set up in the ground, strong poles were fixed around it, and a series of horizontal platforms was then erected to encircle the scaffolding at intervals of 7 to 9 feet The whole of this structure was then filled in by baskets of provisions, and built up so as to present to the eye, when completed, one solid mass of food! [2] At a great feast

[1] *New Zealander*, 18th July, 1878.

[2] W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xiii, 13. Cf. also W. Yate, *Account of New Zealand*. 139–40; W. R. Wade, *Journey in Northern Island of New Zealand*, 1842, 118, The latter describes "the misshapen cone or massy pyramid of eatables, which, so soon as all accompanying ceremony is over, is pulled to pieces by everyone

given at Waimate in 1849, the "*potehe*" or stage was said to have been one of the largest ever put up. It was oblong in shape, 211 feet long, 18 feet wide at the base, tapering to 8 feet wide at the top. To form the framework 160 *kauri* spars were raised perpendicularly, several of them being squared timbers. Five of them were from 90 to 100 feet high, topped by smaller spars 10–15 feet in height, bound firmly together by the strong *torotoro* vine, making the total height of the turret in the centre from 115 to 130 feet. From this eight other turrets, ranging from 80 to 90 feet, ran the length of the staging. On these turrets were built the platforms on which the food was laid out, at intervals of 10 to 12 feet, from the ground to the top.[1] Considering the primitive tools of the Maori and the almost entire lack of mechanical appliances to assist labour, the erection of such stages must be considered as a stupendous achievement. The mere organization of men and materials for the work was an economic feat of no mean kind. The manifest purpose of building such structures was to impress the guests and to give scope for the display of the food to the best advantage. The effect was much more striking than if the provisions had been merely heaped on the ground.

Gifts of mats and garments were sometimes made in addition to the food; they might be piled up alongside the stacks of provisions. At one feast Tukerau, a chief of Poverty Bay, distributed 300 mats of the *kaitaka* variety, which were extremely valuable in the eyes of the natives.[2]

Initial Presentation of Food.

Meanwhile the visitors approached the village. They timed their journey so as to arrive early in the day, and if this were not otherwise possible, they camped the last night within a short distance of their objective. Their hosts then sent out a preliminary present of food (*tumahana*) to serve them for the evening meal, but beyond this neither party took any official cognizance of the other. In the morning the guests marched up in a kind of irregular column as far as the edge of the *marae*, the village

carrying away his portion". Illustrations are given by J. S. Polack, *New Zealanders*, ii, 23; W. Yate, op. cit., 139, 172; A. S. Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, i, 189–91; ii, frontispiece.

[1] *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 6th October, 1849.

[2] A. S. Thomson, op. cit., i, 191. In modern times blankets, tobacco, or even bank notes are often placed alongside the food for distribution. v. J. Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand*, 91; Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 103; ibid., *Maori*, i, 381.

square. Here a simple ceremony was performed by a chief man of the visitors to avert any evil consequences of possible witchcraft. Such a precaution was in no way offensive to the hosts, though to us it appears as a reflection upon their hospitable character. Magic might also be performed by the home side lest the advent of the guests cause their lands to lose their productivity.[1] Both parties now being insulated from the effects of untoward spells and so being easy in their minds, the visitors marched slowly on to the reception ground. They were welcomed by their hosts with the *powhiri* of waving garments, cries of greeting, and formal speeches, which, with replies, lasted perhaps for hours. The next step in the proceedings was the ceremonial presentation of food. If the occasion were not of great importance, then the stacks of provisions would probably be divided straightway among the visitors. On the other hand, at the very large feasts it seems to have been the custom to defer the apportioning of the food until the following day.[2] In any case the first meal served to the guests was always cooked by the hosts, carried by them and set down on the *marae*. Then was seen the *tuku kai*, or *heriheri kai*, the food-bearing ceremony, which was an integral part of the procedure of entertainment. The object was partly to interest and amuse the guests, partly to call attention to the food in proper fashion before handing it over. Young women advanced in line across the public square with a slow step, hips and bodies swaying in time to a *waiata*, a chant, each bearing in her hands a basket of steaming food. This custom was always made much of by the olden Maori, and it is picturesque even in these days when the feast is shorn of much of its former ceremonial. At a large *hakari* each line of bearers carried a particular kind of food, and each had its own song, chosen or even specially composed with reference to the viands borne. A naturalist who was present at the great native meeting at Hikurangi in the Waikato district in 1878, at a time when these tribes were still largely withdrawn from intercourse with Europeans, has noted the effective manner of the ceremonial presentation then practised. A procession of native women went through the village bearing with them baskets of food. "Each article had its appropriate *ngeri* chanted with high-

[1] Best, "Food Products of Tuhoeland," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 104; ibid., *Maori*, i, 383–4.

[2] e.g., T. McDonnell, *Tales of Maori Character and Customs*, 590.

pitched voice. Dancing and facial contortions accompanied each song, given with the utmost precision in point of time, as these *ngeri* brought out some portion of the ancient lore, long dormant, of the elders of the tribe." [1]

The fact that the natives composed songs about the different kinds of food to be sung in conjunction with the ceremonial bearing of it from the ovens for consumption reveals the keenness which attended its display and the interest which was taken in the event. Again, at the feast given by the Taranaki tribes to Rewi Maniapoto at the Waitara it was noted by observers that the natives attached considerable importance to the ceremony of apportioning the food and that every effort was made by the donors of it to make the presentation as effective as possible.[2] A somewhat similar psychological attitude is also indicated in the many proverbs relating to food.[3] This sentiment is, however, not uniform but differential in its application, some food evoking much more interest than others. For instance, a saying current among the Urewera is "Should you awaken me from my sleep let it be for the purpose of eating *hinau* bread".[4]

It is clear that the interest in food was not always excited simply by the desire felt for it as a means of appeasing hunger; it supplied the means of entertaining guests, of inducing other people to perform certain tasks, of fulfilling numerous social obligations. In short, as has been pointed out elsewhere, food represented potential hospitality, economic control, reputation, and social power. In virtue of this, an emotional interest only

[1] T. H. Potts, *Out in the Open*, 17. The following is one of the songs chanted on that occasion:—

"He aha he kai ma taua,
He pipi, he aruhe,
Ko te aka o Tuwhenua
Ko te kai i ora ai te tangata.
Matoetoe ana te arero
Te mitikanga, mihe arero
Kuri ai, au, au."

"What shall be the food for us two?
Some *pipi* (shell-fish) and some fern-root.
That root which spreads through the earth
Ah! 'Tis the food which revives man,
Roughening his tongue, as he rolls it over in his mouth;
Rough it grows as the tongue of a dog. *Au, au, au!*"

For other food songs v. Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 106–7; J. Cowan, *Maoris of New Zealand*, 157–8.

[2] *New Zealander*, 18th July, 1878.

[3] See the writer's "Proverbs in Native Life". *Folklore*, xxxvii, 134–53; and 245–70.

[4] *Kia whakaura koe i taku moe, ko te whatu turei a Rua.* Best, "Foods of the Ancient Maori," *Canterbury Times*, 2nd March, 1898.

indirectly derived from its physical qualities attached itself in the Maori mind to accumulations of food. It was this which played so important a part in the determination of its value.

As with all Maori meals, the food was handed fairly indiscriminately to the diners, since the portions contained in the little baskets were practically identical. But during the meal, the preliminary to the feast proper, it was permitted to any person of the village who had a friend or relative among the visitors to make him a special present of some choice dainty for his personal consumption. Such food was termed *kokomo* or *whakatomo*.[1]

Apportioning the Provisions.

Later on, perhaps on the following day, the distribution of the stacks of food was carried out. The mechanism of this procedure was in essentials the same as that of the economic feasts described in the previous chapter, though the occasion being more important, the ceremony was more elaborate. A few points may be mentioned here in more detail. The food was apportioned by a master of ceremonies, either the principal chief himself, or, more often, a responsible man of lesser rank appointed by him. This man, rod in hand, went from heap to heap, touching each in turn, and calling out in this fashion: "*Ma Ngati-Uenuku tenei tahua, ma Ngati Pikiao tenei tahua, ma Tuhourangi tenei*"—"For Ngati-Uenuku this heap, for Ngati-Pikiao this one, this for Tuhourangi," etc., reciting the names of each *hapu* in loud tones, and thus assigning to it the stack which was its portion. When the stack of provender was very large, it was divided into sections which were allotted to different *hapu*. To apportion the food at a feast might be termed *karanga* (to call), because in allotting the *tahua*, the name of each tribe, *hapu*, or family was "called" in the manner described.[2] After this formal division, each section of the visitors then took possession of the pile of food which had been assigned them and proceeded to prepare some part of it for consumption, or to apportion it

[1] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxv, 105; *Maori*, i, 384. H. W. Williams (*Dictionary*) gives *kokomo* also as a contribution by way of acknowledgment on the part of people to whom a *hakari* is given, and apparently equates it with one meaning of *tumahana* (often = a preliminary gift of food at a feast) as the return present brought with visitors to a feast. In this sense it is a synonym of *paremata*, the usual term for a present of food made by guests to the givers of a feast.

[2] Cf. T. McDonnell, op. cit., 591.

out further among the groups of which the larger unit was composed. The extent to which the process of apportionment was carried out by the master of ceremonies appears to have varied according to the particular occasion, the size of the feast, and the people who were the guests. When Sir Geo. Grey made his expedition overland from Auckland to Taranaki in 1849–50 he was present at several feasts. I summarize from his Journal (written up by G. S. Cooper) an account of the distribution of the food at one such small entertainment given in Waikato. The feast, consisting of hundreds of small kits of potatoes and innumerable roasted eels, was brought into camp and divided into heaps according to the different tribes of the strangers.[1] This operation was performed by the women and slaves under the direction of a chief of secondary rank, who acted as master of ceremonies (*kai whakahauhau*). He was a little, active man, and kept hopping about in every direction with a rod (*tokotoko*) in his hand, giving orders and counter-orders with the greatest volubility, seeming never to cease chattering, and jumping about till all was arranged to his satisfaction. At length the preliminaries were finished, and the food divided into heaps for all the different tribes of the visitors. The largest was for the Governor and his *pakeha* (Europeans)—this was, of course, divided up among their Maori retinue—the next heap was for Te Heuheu, head chief of Taupo, and his followers, and then came a separate heap for each tribe which was represented among the visiting party.[2]

Apparently it was sometimes the custom when there was a guest of honour at the *hakari* for the donors of it formally to hand over to him the whole of the food supply. This was, of course, purely a mark of honour, and he would at once proceed either to present it back to his hosts for re-distribution or to apportion it among the guests himself, adopting whichever course was most fitted to the occasion. At the great feast given by the Taranaki and Ngatiawa natives at Waitara in the 'seventies of last century, and already referred to above, the whole of the immense stacks of food, valued by Europeans present on the lowest computation at not less than £1,000, was formally presented to the guest of honour, Rewi Maniapoto. He, of course, did not regard it as intended for his own disposal, but sent one of his

[1] *He mea whakapuranga nga kai ma tenei hapu, ma tenei hapu, a tu katoa nga manuhiri*, runs the Maori translation.

[2] G. S. Cooper, *Overland Journey of Governor Grey*, 82–4.

principal men to distribute it among the tribes.[1] It was unthinkable that such a man would ever retain for himself any large share of such a gift. Yet there was no express prohibition to restrain him from so doing; it was the force of custom and of potential public opinion which guided his action. To have kept any appreciable portion of the gift would have stamped him at once as mean and ungenerous, epithets highly damaging to his prestige and chiefly leadership. This is still another instance of the part which social values play in moulding economic institutions. An illustration of the effect of a disregard of this code is furnished by a traditional story of the Taupo people, an incident which is said to have occurred some 120 years ago. A heap of food in small baskets was presented by a hospitable chief to one Turahui, who in this case broke the customary usage. For instead of keeping only a small portion for himself and immediate followers he retained the whole, leaving none for the *hapu* of his fighting man Tamakana. No word was said by the latter at the time, but a few days later, at a moment of crisis and danger, Tamakana, with a few pointed observations about gluttony and fighting going together, withdrew from the fray with all his men, leaving Turahui to perish.[2] The breach of etiquette by a chief could not be resented at the time, but it led inevitably to lack of confidence and withdrawal of support on the part of his followers.

The principle of division at all feasts seems to have been an assignment of a quantity of food to each group in rough proportion to the numbers and rank of the people composing it. The master of ceremonies was not regulated by any fixed principles of partition of the supply, but was guided by the arrangement of the heaps, and the wishes of his people, using his own discretion when required. In this he took into account the rank and authority of the persons in each group, in order to ensure that they should receive a share relatively in consonance with their social position, and perhaps, even more important, that due precedence should be followed in the distribution. It would be regarded as a grave breach of etiquette by a chief of high descent in the tribe if the head man of a minor *hapu* had his portion allotted to him first. If done deliberately it would be considered as an insult. The position of master of ceremonies

[1] *New Zealander*, 18th July, 1878.
[2] G. Mair, *Reminiscences*, 47–8.

at a large feast, when representatives of many allied *hapu* were present, was then no sinecure. He had to be familiar with the rank of all the principal guests, and to be fairly expert in genealogical matters in order to place correctly the elder and younger branches of the tribe. The situation, in fact, was analogous to the problems of precedence which arise before an Ambassadorial dinner. With the Maori of old, however, the affair must have been relatively easy, since so many of the elders were accomplished genealogists. Care had to be taken, too, that no one was overlooked. This is illustrated by a story told by Te Rangi Hiroa. In recent years during the ceremonies incident to the apportioning of food the name of one old *rangatira* (man of rank) was omitted in the " calling ". As this became apparent to him he rose from his seat, strode to a *whare* (house), and loaded his double-barrelled gun. Then stalking into the midst of the assembly he fired two shots in the air. There was a moment's hush, then a buzz of tongues. " My word, someone has been forgotten ! " And the next heap of food was hurriedly handed over to the old chief. His protest was mute but effective ! [1]

In this process of apportionment of supplies to the guests at a feast it will be noted that there was no definite body of rules laid down for the guidance of the master of ceremonies, but that he still did not avail himself of this to allot an undue share of food to his relatives or friends. Such conduct was prevented by the pressure of public opinion, which supplied the place of a more concrete standard. In a normal way the constraint of etiquette and the obedience to custom ensured adherence to the code.

Economic Effects of the Feast

This examination of the salient characteristics of the inter-tribal feast leads one to consider the economic effects that ensued. These hinge on the amount of food consumed at such gatherings, in relation to the degree of exhaustion of productive resources and the character of future needs. One of the outstanding points about these native feasts seems to have been the prodigious quantities of food amassed and consumed ; the emotions aroused

[1] In *J.P.S.*, x, 15–16, is given a *puha* or war dance chant, sung because the people, having been invited to an important meeting, were omitted in the distribution when the *tahua* or gift-food was presented. " *Te take o tenei puha, i hapa i te kai, ara, i te wawahanga o te tahua. He hui nui hoki to taua kainga ka hapa nei taua iwi i tikina mai nei.*"

Locality.	Date.	Character of Feast.	Quantity of Food Consumed.	Other Details.	Authority.
Waihou . .	1829	*Hahunga* feast, at exhumation of bones of dead.	462 baskets of potatoes counted.	Patuone (well-known chief of Ngapuhi) principal man.	J. Stack, *Missionary Notices*, vi, 1829, 166.
Bay of Islands	1831	——	Upwards of 1,000 bushels potatoes in as many baskets. Joints of beef and sharks.	Many hundreds of natives assembled in good humour. Strong frame, shape of pyramid; 34 ft. diam. at base, 80 ft. high, terminating in point. Pile decorated with flags.	W. Yate, Journal in *Missionary Register*, 1832, 156–7.
Ohaeawai .	1831, 13th and 14th June	——	3,000 bushels *kumara* as presents, 2,000 more to be consumed; 290 pigs killed for occasion.	About 5,000 persons assembled. Yate's portion of feast, 25 bushels *kumara* and 4 pigs.	W. Yate, *Missionary Register*, 1832, 157.
Waimate .	1836, May	Annual feast at *hahunga*. Special invitation to neighbouring tribe. Natives of Hokianga guests of Waimate people.	About 2,000 bushel baskets *kumara*; 50 or 60 pigs cooked.	Heap of food 300 yards long. By no means one of the largest feasts, states Colenso. Last feast held there owing to missionary influence.	W. Williams, *Church Missionary Record*, 1836, 292; cf. also R. Wade, *Journey*, 119–20; W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xiii, 13.
Matamata .	1837	Feast prepared by Te Waharoa [of Ngati Haua] for the Tauranga tribes [Ngaiterangi], who were going to combine with him to attack Rotorua.	6 large albatrosses, 19 calabashes shark oil, several tons fish, principally young shark, 20,000 dried eels, great quantity pigs, and baskets of potatoes almost without number (*sic*).	——	A. N. Brown, *Church Missionary Record*, 1838, 167; v. also R. Wade, *Journey*, 120; Colenso, loc. cit.

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Locality.	Date.	Character of Feast.	Quantity of Food Consumed.	Other Details.	Authority.
Remuera .	1844, April	Given by Te Wherowhero of Waikato to Ngati-Haua and other neighbouring tribes in return for one given year before.	11,000 baskets potatoes; 100 large pigs; 9,000 sharks; liberal supplies flour, sugar, rice, and tobacco.	About 4,000 visitors (Buller); approx. 3,420 (Fitzroy). Feast lasted nearly a week. Shed nearly 400 yds. long, covered with Witney blankets, and 1,000 more besides as presents. Residue of gift-food sold to Europeans by guests.	Fitzroy, *Papers Rel. to New Zealand*, 1845, xxx; J. Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand*, 90.
Neighbourhood of Auckland.	——	Chief gave feast to surrounding tribes. Apparently same as above.	Roast pigs, baskets potatoes, and dried fish piled up, with row of blankets intended as presents to friends exceeded a mile in length.	Thousands of natives assembled, many having come as much as 200 miles.	G. F. Angas, *Polynesia*, 148; cf. also *New Zealanders*, pl. 36, for native feast at Matata.
Waikanae .	1846	Feast given by local people to tribe of Queen Charlotte's Sound.	Several pigs, six canoes full of flour and sugar, besides potatoes and *kumara*.	About 300 natives.	*New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 8th Aug., 1846.
Matamata .	1846, June	Peace between Ngati Haua and Ngati Whakaue.	16th June: 4,000 baskets *kumara* and potatoes. 18th June: 8,000 baskets *kumara* and potatoes, half-million eels (*sic*), 900 pigs, 10 casks tobacco, and quantity European clothing.	About 4,000 people present. Pile of food 200 ft. long, 8 ft. wide, 5 ft. high. Eels and tobacco on top.	*N.Z. Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 8th Aug., 1846.
Matamata .	1846	Same feast as preceding. (Observe different version.)	Several tons potatoes and *kumara* in rows; 500 pigs, quantity of eels, 16 casks tobacco.	About 2,500 people present. Heap of food 150 yds. long.	Ibid., 22nd Aug., 1846. Account of two British officers.

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Locality.	Date.	Character of Feast.	Quantity of Food Consumed.	Other Details.	Authority.
——	1836 [? 1846]	(Apparently same as preceding.)	8,000 baskets potatoes, 500,000 eels, 800 pigs, 15 casks tobacco.	——	A. S. Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, i, 190.
Bay of Islands	1849	Given by Chiefs of Waimate to Ruhi, also of Ngapuhi tribe, in return for one given by him about two years before.	Potatoes, cooked pigs, dried shark, pumpkins, *kumara*, etc. Hard to ascertain quantity. At one stage 200 pigs arrived. About 2,000 baskets of potatoes by then collected = 40 tons. Supplies continued to arrive.	Preparations for over six months. Stage one of longest ever erected, 211 ft. long, 18 ft. wide at base, and 8 ft. wide at top. Centre 115–130 ft. high. Eight other turrets, 70–80 ft. high. Estimated 3,000 people present.	*N.Z. Spectator*, etc., 6th Oct., 1849, from *Southern Cross*, 4th Sept., 1849.
Waitara . .	1878, 28th June	Given by Taranaki and Ngatiawa tribes to Rewi Maniapoto, chief of Ngati Maniapoto.	Several hundred kits of potatoes, *kumara*, and *taro*; above these laid rows dried shark; on top stretched pigs.	Heap of food 69 × 5 × 5 ft. Value estimated at over £1,000.	*New Zealander*, 18th July, 1878.
Ngapuhi district.	Modern	Marriage feast. Given by people of bride to guests, representatives from nearly all tribes north of Waikato.	Bread, 5 canoe loads; biscuit, 10 sacks; flour, 1 ton; sugar, 10 mats; tea, 2 chests; butter, 3 firkins; potatoes, a 30-ton schooner-load; sheep, 30; bullocks, 2; pigs, 100. Eels, sharks, and other fish, many tons. Vast quantity *kumara*, etc.	More than 500 people. Estimated value of food, over £1,000.	"Te Manuwiri," *Sketches Early Colonization*, 154.

by this sight, indeed, seem to have rendered early European observers almost incapable of setting down any other information about these gatherings. In the accompanying table a number of statements have been collected from various sources, and set down in this form for brevity and ease of reference. Apart from other considerations, they are of historical interest from the rare and somewhat inaccessible nature of certain of the early records from which they have been taken.

The description of these feasts is illustrative of several interesting points of detail. Thus the one given at Remuera in 1844 was arranged by the Waikato tribe under Te Wherowhero and Te Wetere for the tribes to the south-east of them, apparently Ngati Haua, in chief, by whom Waikato had been feasted the year before. The professed object of the entertainment was to make return for the former complimentary feast, but the desire of Te Wherowhero to show his *rangitiratanga*, his status and conduct as a gentleman, the estimate in which he was held, and the extent of his friendly alliances also played a part. Initial preparations were made on quite a large scale, some hundred acres being planted with potatoes, and an immense number of small sharks, a great Maori delicacy, being dried. When the assembly came together there were estimated to be over 3,400 natives present, from some fifteen tribes or major *hapu*. Ngati Haua from Matamata under their chief Pohepohe numbered 400, Ngatiawa from the Bay of Plenty 200, Tainui people from Kawhia under Te Kanawa 340, while parties of Ngati Mahanga, Ngatitipa, Ngatitamaoho, Ngatiteata, Ngatiwhatua, and others made up the tale of guests. Of Waikato proper there were about 800 people present. The visitors were encamped on the plain in every direction, in long lines of native huts. Each tribe or portion of a tribe dwelt by itself on its own hillock or ridge. The actual quantities of supplies have been indicated in the table. They were disposed in a line of about 400 yards in length, forming a kind of breastwork or mound of potatoes topped by a post and single-rail fence, on which hung dried sharks as closely as they could be packed together. This mound was about 7 feet wide and 4 feet high, and each basket of potatoes therein was a fair load for a man to carry. The sharks were each about 3 feet long, except at the divisions of the heap, about 10 yards apart, which were marked by sharks of larger size, about 4 or 5 feet long. These divisions showed the tribes how far they were to extend their

activities, when, at a given signal from Te Wherowhero, they began to carry off the portions allotted to them. This happened near sunset after all the speeches had been concluded. In this case the food supplied exceeded the requirements of the guests, and they sold a portion of it to Europeans. The gathering was remarkable for its orderly nature, no theft or pilfering of any kind being reported, and only one man being injured—by his own spear when taking part in the scramble for food ![1]

In certain districts one staple product might form the basis of the food supply for a feast. Thus at a large *hui* held at Awahou in 1899 there were 600 people present from the Bay of Plenty and the East Coast in general, and the gathering lasted a week. Here *koura* (crayfish) was the chief food, a fact which attests the prolific nature of the crustacean resources of the place. At the opening of Tama-te-Kapua, the great meeting-house of the Arawa at Ohinemutu in 1873, it is said that there were at the feast 500 *rohe* (baskets) of dried *koura* and *inanga* (crayfish and whitebait).[2]

The rough figures given in the table, even when every allowance is made for the hyperbolical tendencies of the observers ndicate the vast quantities of food which were brought together, and consumed at a Maori *hakari*. The bulk is indeed great, but it is perhaps not so startling when we consider the large number of natives usually present, comprising, on more important occasions, several thousand persons. As a proportion of these came from quite considerable distances—Angas mentions 200 miles on one occasion—it is hardly to be wondered at that they were prepared to stay with their hosts for some days, or even weeks. Taking both the numbers of guests and the length of their stay into consideration, the immense quantity of food displayed at a feast need not provoke such great surprise. One cannot but admire, however, the organizing ability shown in collecting such masses of provisions, in planning the event for months ahead, and in successfully accomplishing for several days at a stretch the arduous task of providing for some hundreds or even thousands of guests. Such an achievement calls for powers of co-operation and directing skill of no mean order.

[1] Dispatch of Governor Fitzroy to Lord Stanley, 15th May, 1844. *Papers Relative to New Zealand*, 1845, xxx. See also *Te Karere o Nui Tireni*, vol. iii, No. 6, 1st June, 1844.

[2] Te Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck), *T.N.Z.I.*, liii, 451.

The usual procedure for the visitors was to remain until the supply of food was exhausted, and then to return home, bearing with them such presents as had been made to them.[1] The depletion of the provisions was hastened by the fact that the rate of consumption per person tended to be somewhat above normal owing to the presence of unusual dainties and also to the absence of other occupations. The visitor to a *hakari* had little to do save talk, sleep and eat, at each of which by long training he had become something of an adept. The general attitude of a native was—and is—that a *hui* (meeting) is a time of good cheer, and he goes prepared to make the most of it. Ordinary restraints upon appetite are removed, and a certain amount of gluttony is the result. This aspect of the question, however, must not be pushed too far. As W. B. trenchantly remarks, "Much gratuitous nonsense has been aired over Maori gluttony at his funeral feasts." He points out that the plain truth, as often, lies on the *via media* and is this: the foods of the ancient Maori were hard to acquire, and so in ordinary times, being a prudent man, he moderated his appetite to suit his food supply. But at a feast, when the majority of people had come from a distance, and the ceremonies of speech-making, etc., had lasted some hours, what wonder that some of them should have given way to their hunger and shown symptoms of a wolfishness that they would regret in days to come. Epithets such as "food burrows", or "people of neap-tide bowels", which are applied to such greedy folk, are hard to endure. Gluttony at such feasts is, however, not without some justification.[2]

It cannot be denied that there was a considerable amount of waste at such functions, a careless destruction of food, having almost its only excuse in the social tradition which held liberality as a prime virtue, even when carried to excess. It would have been reckoned as offending the canons of good taste if a strict economy were observed. Etiquette required a lavish, super-abundant supply of food at such events, even though future welfare might be seriously threatened. At times, then, the compulsion of these social sentiments was stronger than the restraints of economic prudence. This was remarked by T. H. Potts at

[1] At mourning feasts it seems to have been the custom on occasions for the various parties of guests who were not close relatives to take themselves off after a few days' stay in order to make room for fresh arrivals (W. B., *Where the White Man Treads*, 36).

[2] W. B., *Where the White Man Treads*, 35–6.

the great gathering at Hikurangi which he attended. In a forest clearing below the broad terrace of the camp was a *taikawa,* a rubbish heap on which were thrown vast quantities of unused food and the remnants of the meals. The amount thus wasted is indicated by the following observation on the animals which profited therefrom, " There may be seen plethoric pigs, breathing stertoriously, unable from very repletion to indulge in further gluttony, till after a prolonged doze the appetite of some vigorous individual may be so far whetted as to enable it to toy with a potato before it again sinks to peaceful slumber." ![1] Waste of food at Maori feasts is partly accounted for, however, by the lack of precise knowledge on the part of the hosts as to the number of their coming guests. Only the approximate strength of the visiting party could be estimated, and as native canons of hospitality required generous treatment of all who came, the tendency was to err always on the side of excess. Insufficient provision even for unexpected visitors would lay the hosts open to sneer and innuendo, and severely damage their reputation. Hence a certain amount of the waste which occurred was undoubtedly due to this lack of equilibrium or defect in organization resulting in over-supplying and not to any careless or improvident attitude towards food.

Be this as it may, the feast was such an outstanding event on the Maori programme that it inevitably left its mark on the economy of the subsequent season. Nearly every *hakari* of importance saw the stocks of the village almost depleted, and in consequence the prosperity of the next few months imperilled. The community often had to live on short commons till the following harvest, their supplies eked out, maybe, by visits to more fortunate relatives in other villages. At such times one meal a day was the rule, and the women and children were often the first to suffer.

Opinions as to the merits of the feast are fairly unanimous in emphasizing this depressing aspect. Thomson brings up the oft-quoted simile from Montesquieu that like Indians who fell trees to gather the fruit, the Maori at these gatherings quite overlooked the future for the present, and to have his fame spread abroad would endure hunger for months without repining.[2] Rev. J. Buller remarks that the natives often impoverished

[1] T. H. Potts, *Out in the Open,* 20.
[2] *Story of New Zealand,* i, 191.

themselves for a while by their lavish expenditure on such occasions[1]; T. Moser points out that the tribe which gave a feast nearly starved for some months afterwards in return for their "misplaced hospitality".[2] Being times of idleness, of a certain amount of sexual freedom, and associated also on occasions with such heathen rites as the exhumation of the bones of the dead, the *hakari* were frowned upon by the early missionaries. Indeed, so harmful were they deemed to be that strenuous efforts were soon made to put a stop to them. Thus by one man the *hakari* is referred to as "a custom which was so expensive to themselves and so replete with sin against God and danger to their own souls".[3] On the occasion which evoked these remarks certain of the chiefs agreed to discontinue the custom—on the score of expense rather than of its sinfulness—but to the majority of the natives "it appeared an evil and a bitter thing to give up a practice which is everyway agreeable to human nature". Even James Buller, a man usually in sympathy with native practices, deplores the performance of the war dance given by sixteen hundred men at the Remuera feast of 1844. "With such a number it was effectively done. But as a relic of their old barbarism, it is not to be commended. Good taste, not less than sound morals, must condemn the practice".[4]

In the 'thirties of last century the natives, in deference to these opinions of their spiritual advisers, began to discontinue such entertainments. Not, as one gathers from the statements quoted above, entirely without regret on their part, since they realized perhaps more clearly than the missionaries the very real part which the feasts played in their economic and social life. In 1849, it was reported that such feasts had largely fallen into disuse, but wherever they still occurred they were much looked forward to by the people, as giving the opportunity for the exercise of hospitality. By the chiefs they were welcomed

[1] J. Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand*, 90.

[2] T. Moser, *Mahoe Leaves*, 53.

[3] R. Davis, *Church Missionary Record*, 1836, 159. The dialogue on this occasion between the missionary and a native chief is not without interest: "I told him," says Mr. Davis, "that it would be to their benefit to give up the feasts; as, in the first place, they lead to an unnecessary consumption of a great deal of food, and also to much wickedness and bad talk. 'Do you think,' said he, 'people will leave off bad talking if we give up our feasting?'" R. Wade, too (*Journey*, 118–19), speaks of the "attendant evils" of the feast and "the folly of these things".

[4] Op. cit., 91.

as providing an occasion for settling political questions and tribal difficulties.[1] As the principal chief of the Hokianga people said, in discussing their proposed abolition," These feasts have many times been the means of keeping the peace between us, and may be of service again." [2] Such opinions actually expressed by natives themselves point to the real importance of the institution.

The view expressed by Elsdon Best as to the merits of the feast is of the moderate kind : he holds that probably the only bad effect of these gatherings was the scarcity of food which usually followed them. It is true that the great strain thrown upon the food supplies on such occasions tended seriously to disturb the normal balance between production and consumption. To some extent this was rectified, as noted previously, by an extension of cultivation or other work calculated to increase the stores of food-stuffs, and where this was effective no real economic loss was sustained. On many occasions, however, the extra effort seems to have been insufficient to cover the abnormal consumption, and the stocks held in reserve against the requirements of the coming season were drawn upon. It is on this point that the adverse comments really rest. At the same time this does not cover the whole situation. No doubt the feasts were at times burdensome to the native by reason of the heavy obligations they entailed, and some economic distress must have resulted from the consumption of all reserve stocks of provisions. But the benefit which they conferred in providing a goal and stimulus to work, in giving scope for the repayment of obligations, in effectually breaking the monotonous round of ordinary life, in giving opportunity for extended social contact and discussion of political issues, in drawing together the various divisions of the tribe and in linking one tribe with another decidedly outweighed the attendant ills. Where an impartial inquiry has been made, similar useful effects are found to be gained by the feasts of other Pacific Island peoples, and one cannot but deplore the unthinking interference which has often sought to remove from the life of the native an institution of such cultural value.

[1] *New Zealand Spectator, etc.*, 6th October, 1849.
[2] *Church Missionary Record*, 1836, 159.

Reciprocity in Feasts

The foregoing part of this chapter has been confined to the consideration of the rôle which the feast has played in the tribal economy; its effects may, however, transcend this sphere. Every feast given by one tribe to another imposed upon the recipients a stringent obligation to return this hospitality at some future time. No set term was fixed, but tribal honour required that as soon as sufficient supplies had been accumulated, a similar gathering should be convened, at which the late hosts would be feasted royally. Failure to make this return feast laid the delinquents open to one of the severest charges that could be made in the old Maori régime—inhospitality and greed. Moreover, etiquette required that the second function should if possible outdo the first in abundance and quality of entertainment. This matter, again, was bound up with the good name of the tribe.[1]

Some examples of the reciprocal nature of these functions may be given. Several of these inter-tribal feasts to which reference has already been made were specifically of this type. Thus the large feast held at Waimate in 1849 was an affair between two *hapu* of Ngapuhi. It was given by "Na Manu, Na Whai and Nga te Kianga" to Ruhi and his followers, who had feasted them in like manner about two years before. For six months, through the whole of the district occupied by Na Manu and his friends, the preparations for this feast were of supreme importance. Again, the feast given at Remuera by Te Wherowhero to representatives from a number of other tribes was partly to reciprocate the entertainment given to him the year before. When Whare-mawhai of Ngati-Rahiri married Nohorua of Ngatitoa in 1816 a great feast was given by the former tribe. It accordingly devolved upon the latter to repay this entertainment, and a return feast (*kai whainga*) was prepared under the direction of Te Rauparaha. The main basis of the food supply consisted of dried fish, and this, together with other provisions, was brought by that chief and a considerable following in canoes from Kawhia. In accordance with the Maori custom of giving

[1] A. S. Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, i, 189–91. D. F. Vaggioli (*Storia della Nuova Zelanda*, 1891), who gives a good synthetic description of the Maori feast, compiled from various sources, emphasizes this point: "l'uso nazionale volera che si dessero cibi in magior copia di quelli che si erano ricevuti alla precedente feste" (524).

a name to any notable event in tribal history, the feast was called Pou kangu.[1] Another feast of importance held at Te Whaiti when Ngati-Rongo and Tuhoe were the guests of the Patu-Heuheu people was named Hiwanawana.[2]

The term *paremata,* meaning generically payment, is used to signify such a return feast, as also the present of food brought by guests for their hosts on arrival. *Kaihaukai* and *kai whainga* are words also used for a return feast [3]; the first of these appears sometimes to denote simply a feast, i.e. is equivalent to *hakari.*

On occasion, areas of land seem to have been given as equivalent for a feast instead of returning the hospitality in the usual way, a practice which illustrates the depth of the impulse to give compensation for obligations incurred—for land was the most prized possession of the Maori. In the traditional history of the natives of Hawkes Bay an account of such a transaction is given. Te Whatu-i-apiti gave a feast at Heretaunga to Te Angiangi and his people. It consisted mainly of preserved birds, and was named " Tikitiki-o-te-Whatu ". A return feast was given in due course, and named Pokai-takataka. Again, Te Whatu felt himself compelled to take the initiative, and gave a second feast named " Te Umu-tamariki ". For this, however, he had to obtain assistance, and in repayment handed over certain lands to his friends, in the possession of whose descendants they have remained. Such aid from the supplies of friends is termed *whaka-tihi.* But Te Angiangi and his people were now in parlous plight. They had exhausted their stocks of food and could give no further feast. A return of some kind was imperative, however, to save themselves from shame, and so they presented to Te Whatu-i-apiti large areas of land, most of which he distributed to the friends who had helped him.[4]

Feasts and gifts of this kind show the extent to which chiefs and their followers would go in order to emulate one another and maintain their name for generosity; and also the intensity of the obligation which was incurred by acceptance of hospitality at a feast. Not only the prospect of having to entertain guests,

[1] S. Percy Smith, *History and Traditions of Taranaki Coast,* 281.
[2] E. Best, *T.N.Z.I.,* xxxv, 103.
[3] *Kaihaukai* also signifies a return present of food made by one tribe to another; an equivalent term is *kaiwhakapaepae.*
[4] S. Percy Smith, " Incidents in the History of Horehore Pa," *J.P.S.,* xv, 87-8. (From information supplied by Tanguru and Hori Ropiha.) In this account it is mentioned also how in payment for the feast termed " Nga-tau-tuku-roa " the Rangi-tane tribe gave up some lands to their hosts, who then resided on them.

but also the state of having been entertained as such was a matter of grave responsibility. By giving a feast one repaid one's obligations, by being fêted one saddled oneself with fresh ones. And the greater the entertainment provided by the one side the more did the other have to work to outdo this display.

This survey of the economic aspects of the native feast has brought out the extent to which it is bound up with other branches of activity, and emphasizes the necessity of studying it, not as an isolated phenomenon, but as one incident, albeit a striking one, in a series of related social events. The intensity of its reaction upon the organization of work, the accumulation of wealth and the general economic welfare, the obligation which it imposes upon recipient as well as donor, and the intimate correlation of it with sentiments concerning honour and the use of food mark the importance of including this institution within the field of our analysis of Maori economic conditions.

After this study of the process of production and distribution of wealth we may now turn to the consideration of problems of ownership.

CHAPTER X

THE OWNERSHIP AND COMMAND OF WEALTH

"He tukemata ano to te taonga."

"As the warrior's eyes gain victory for him, so the influence of wealth gains men their desire."

SEEN in true perspective the system of ownership in a community is essentially the mechanism which standardizes and gives stability to the relation between members of the society and the body of material culture and natural resources which they have at command. It stands therefore at the base of economic welfare, and reacts strongly upon the efficiency of production. This has already been demonstrated in considering the effects of the concentration of certain types of wealth in the hands of the chief men of the Maori community.

A problem which for some decades has occupied the attention of anthropologists and other workers in the field of social science is the mode of holding property which characterized man in the primeval economic state. It is a question which has aroused considerable controversy, and as yet none of the proffered solutions has met with any general acceptance. Neither in the guise of a hard-headed individualist nor as the disciple of a pure and untrammelled communism—the two most popular rôles for which he has been cast—does original man appear to be wholly pleasing to the more critically minded of his descendants. A review of the theories of primitive property is not demanded here, nor is it even necessary to determine the stage of social progress which is represented in the subject of our study. All that is attempted here is to examine the Maori system of ownership as it worked in relation to the other elements of the economic structure.

It must be realized in considering the problem of the control of man over material goods that such terms as "property" and "ownership", which are employed to indicate a certain set of relationships in our own society, do not necessarily preserve

the same connotation when applied in a native community. The essential factors in the situation—the individual, the goods, and the other members of his community—remain unchanged, but the set of concepts by which these are related has been formed against a different cultural background. Hence the impression that is conveyed to a European by the simple and satisfying statement that an object is "owned" by a certain person may be entirely divorced from reality through his ignorance of all those rights and qualifications which to the native form an integral part of the situation. The practical truth of this has been demonstrated many times by the misunderstandings which have thus arisen in regard to the alienation of native land.

In consequence of this difference in the native view-point and terminology from our own the effort is made here to describe the Maori system of the holding of property at first in terms of use and control of goods, until the underlying principles have been sufficiently well elaborated to allow of a more explicit formulation of the native theory. The most satisfactory method would undoubtedly be to give an inventory of the main specific types of goods in a community, studying in each case the people who had rights over each item, the reason, nature, and extent of their control, and whether they exercised it as individuals or in virtue of being members of some definite group. From such an ideal field-worker's description the basic principles of the institution of property could be deduced. For lack of the relevant data such a method cannot be followed in this chapter; as far as possible, however, the outlines of such a plan will be given. The question of the ownership of land owing to its intricacy and importance, is not dealt with here, but is considered separately in the next chapter.

Maori Property: How Held and Used

The question of individual private property is of interest, especially in view of the frequent description of Maori society as being of a "communistic" type.

Among the material goods which constitute the wealth of a society there are certain types which may be termed truly personal—things which from their nature are only capable of being utilized by a single person at a time and are of peculiar interest for him. Such are articles for wear or decoration, as

clothing, ornaments and scents, and implements which supplement his productive powers, as an adze, a fish-hook, or a spade. Under the old Maori régime these were reserved, with the full social approval, for the private use of the individual himself. The subject of individual ownership is generally dismissed in a few lines by Maori scholars in order to make way for the discussion of the intriguing problems of rights and claims to land. A few representative opinions may be considered. Thus amid his valuable notes on ownership, Best remarks : " There is but little to say with regard to personal property among the Maori folk, for the individual possessed little that came under that head. He had his few garments, his few weapons, his hut, some tools, with certain fishing and snaring gear, and little else save his share of cultivated crops. Cooking utensils were unknown, house furniture did not exist. If he hewed out a canoe, why, then, any member of the family group considered that he had a right to use it." [1] While acknowledging the great authority of Best on all matters Maori, and agreeing with the general tenor of this statement, one cannot avoid the suspicion that here a number of interesting and even important problems have been side-tracked. The reference to the " few garments " raises the question of the relation of owner to producer, for among the Maori, men did not as a rule make clothing ; the " share of cultivated crops " suggests the existence of some process of distribution of the fruits of labour ; and the *camaraderie* between user and maker of the canoe almost certainly implies a system of reciprocity within the family group. Even where individual possessions are few, an account of the economic and social relationships involved is necessary in order to render the plain statement of fact of any value.

Colenso, under the heading of " Peculiar or Private Rights ", stresses the individualistic aspect of Maori ownership and has some useful notes thereon. Everyone, he states, had a right to his own as against every other member of the community, but this right was often overcome by might. For instance, a man of middle or low rank caught fish or snared birds ; such were his own ; but if his superior chief asked for some of them he dared not refuse, even if he wished. At the same time, since by custom such a gift was sure to be repaid with interest, it was readily yielded (cf. Chapter VIII). Again, the whole of a man's movable

[1] *Maori*, i, 394.

property was his own, and this included his house and fences as well as the smaller goods. Moreover, " all that a freeman made or caught or obtained or raised by agriculture was his own, private and peculiar." If the house were not erected on his own land, however, which but rarely happened, he could not hold it against the owner of the place unless the latter had previously granted him the use of it in open assembly (*i te aroaro o te tokomaha*, before the presence of the company of persons). In similar fashion, any cultivation made on another's land had to be vacated on request after the crop was lifted. If in the first instance the man had felled the forest with permission or otherwise reclaimed the land from the wilderness, he could then retain it for life, or as long as he pleased, and it might even pass to his descendants after him.[1] These remarks, made many years ago by a careful observer, are of great interest, especially as they indicate that type of qualification of possession which so commonly occurs in matters of Maori ownership. It is clear, however, that Colenso rather over-emphasizes the exclusive nature of the rights which the individual might exercise over such goods. The house, for instance, appears to have been regarded as the property of the *whanau*, the family group, rather than that of any single person, while the statement that all that a freeman obtained was his own, " private and peculiar," leaves on one side the extremely varied interests and claims of other members of the kinship group.

The exclusive nature of possession in some cases is illustrated by Dieffenbach, who remarks while travelling in 1840 that it was usual for the natives of Taranaki in these disturbed times to have small plantations or stores of goods concealed in the forest, on which they could fall back in case of need, and which were often known only to the proprietor. From time to time his guide used to emerge from the forest with some food or some oil for his adornment, which he had thus hidden away.[2] This secreting of goods for private use is perhaps exceptional, to be attributed to the state of inter-tribal war which had prevailed in the district until a few years before, and not to any special habits of private ownership within the community itself.

The type of goods which formed the personal property of a Maori may be briefly summarized after what has been indicated

[1] " Essay on the Maori Races," 22, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 1868.
[2] E. Dieffenbach, *Travels in N.Z.*, i, 44.

above. In the case of a man, his tools and weapons for digging, fishing, fighting, and securing game; cordage; pieces of raw material, as obsidian or unworked greenstone; his clothing, his ornaments for hair, neck and ear, red ochre and shark oil for decoration, together with any prized articles such as a carved wooden box or a flute, if he were musically inclined, were reserved for his exclusive use. A woman had her garments and ornaments likewise, as well as a pounder, a pair of weaving sticks, hanks of fibre and dyes, maybe, which she used in her work. Game and fish which were secured by a man on solitary expeditions were also regarded as his own by other workers, though they were usually incorporated in the common family food supply.

Very often such things were collected or manufactured by the person possessing them, in which case the labour involved gave a strong prescriptive right to the sole use of the article—especially as it was open to any other member of the community to acquire similar goods, provided that he was willing to expend the necessary time and labour. Thus men selected the wood for their own implements, fashioned and carved them, women collected berries or flowers to express from them a perfumed liquid, and gathered the flax from which they prepared the fibre for the making of garments. On occasions, however, items of private property were not obtained by personal labour but by exchange. This might happen in the case of a stone adze, a feather plume, or a greenstone ornament. For his clothing a man was dependent upon the women of his family, being supplied with it in accordance with that system of reciprocal services which obtained between the sexes in the Maori household. Sometimes, indeed, articles of private property were acquired by inheritance. Thus bird spears of *tawa* were highly prized owing to the difficulty of manufacture, and many of them received special names—a sign of the value attaching to them. They were carefully preserved from one generation to another, being handed down from a father to his son.[1]

The relation of the possessor to articles of this type is fairly clear. They were held and utilized for his private satisfaction, and his rights over them were respected by other members of the community. Such of these goods as were suitable he kept in his own storehouse or in other places set aside for them. Other people were not allowed to interfere with them except by his

[1] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 459.

permission or unless with good cause, and unauthorized removal and concealment of them by others was regarded as theft and might be followed by severe punishment. The relation of the Maori people to their material wealth was not one of undiluted communism ; on the contrary, a system of very definite individual rights obtained.

It has been maintained on linguistic grounds that some native races are incapable of recognizing any precise ties of individual property, since their vocabulary lacks any specific term equivalent to " owner ". But negative evidence of this kind is admittedly an unsafe basis for generalization. With the Maori there is no exact word which may be literally translated as " owner ", yet this fact does not entitle one to conclude that such a concept is absent from native thought. Nor was any difficulty experienced in rendering any relation of this kind in speech, the use of the preposition *na* (*no* according to circumstances), meaning " belonging to ", in combination with certain pronouns, being a common mode of expression. For instance, in the matter of a plantation of flax " *Na wai tena* ", " Who owns that ? " (literally, " Belonging to whom [is] that ? ") receives the answer, " *Ko ia te tangata nana te pa harakeke* "—" He is the owner of the flax enclosure " (literally, " It is he the man belonging to him the flax enclosure "). When emphasis was required the value of the possessive pronoun was intensified by a qualifying word *ake* or *ano*, meaning *very own*, making it clear that possession by right and not merely *de facto* was implied. Thus in the story of the Lady Whaka-tapui, accused by her sisters-in-law of stealing *taro*, the narrator desires to make the point clear : " *Ko ana taro nei, nana ake ano, ohara i te tangata ke nana era taro* "—" Those *taro* were her very own (*nana ake ano*) ; they did not belong to any other person (*tangata ke*)." There is no lack of ability on the part of the Maori tongue to distinguish with precision the facts of individual ownership.

Private property was often indicated by a sign or mark of some kind (*tohu*) placed upon the object by the owner.[1]

[1] e.g. the core of obsidian placed in a hollow tree by Tikitu of Ngatiawa to establish his seizure of certain birding lands (Best, *J.P.S.*, xi, 37) ; the excrement deposited by Rongo-i-tua on a *totara* tree which he wished to reserve (Stack, *T.N.Z.I.*, xii, 160).

Borrowing and the *Tapu*

The habit of borrowing was formerly prevalent among the Maori, as among many native peoples, a readiness to lend things being coupled with a rather casual practice of using the goods of other persons without always deeming it necessary to go through the formality of asking permission. This has led to some misconception, since it has been taken as an indication of the lack of any well defined ideas of *meum* and *teum* in matters of property. It is clear, however, that his practice was in no way inconsistent with a system of individual ownership. The article could only be removed when not in immediate use by the owner, and had to be restored if he objected to its departure; it had to be returned when finished with, and some form of recompense was usually made for the loan. Even though no definite gift was presented to the lender, the act of taking it for use meant that a reciprocal obligation was tacitly incurred on the part of the borrower, and the former felt himself entitled to a similar accommodation when he should be in need of it. Moreover, permission to borrow the article might be refused, though this did not usually happen, since it laid the owner open to an accusation of churlishness. Usages of this kind indicate that the article borrowed is considered to belong to the person from whom it is taken; in other words this practice is additional evidence for and not incompatible with the recognition of individual private ownership.

The facts of ownership have been examined so far mainly upon economic grounds, but now a factor from the supernatural side of life may be introduced into the discussion, since it tends strongly to reinforce the holding of individual property. This is the institution of *tapu*. The regulative force of this belief in the general social life has already been considered, so that its bearing upon the phenomena of property alone may be examined here. Taken by itself it must be regarded as a strong predisposing condition for the observance of certain forms of individual holding of goods, since by reason of the *tapu* which always surrounded a man of rank, any objects which he touched immediately became fit only for his private use. They were fraught with serious harm to the common man who interfered with them. The social and economic consequences of this aspect of their supernatural endowment, indeed, did not pass

altogether unrecognized by the chiefs. By the medium of the *tapatapa*, a custom mentioned later, they generally managed to conserve for themselves the goods which they particularly desired.

The fear of the *tapu* was also a potent factor in preventing indiscriminate borrowing in olden Maori society, and effectively guarded the wealth of chiefs from molestation of any kind. This was noted by Judge Maning, who has given a most lucid account of the *tapu* in his eminently readable work *Old New Zealand*. This book combines picturesqueness of style with unique insight into native mentality—for as it has been said, the Judge thought in Maori while writing in English! The *tapu*, as he states, was of real service in preserving the property of the *rangatira* or men of rank, for it prevented their goods being stolen, or mislaid, or spoiled by children, or handled in any way by others, a function which was the more useful in former times because of the great labour necessary to manufacture articles when stone tools alone were at command. Borrowing and lending were also prevented to a great degree by the *tapu*.[1]

Reference has been made to the custom of *tapatapa*, the essence of which is that by bringing a desired article into definite association with himself a chief thereby isolated it for his own use. Maning describes how a warrior of rank who coveted a double-barrelled gun secured it against interference by tying to the stock a thread torn from his cloak. In other cases it was sufficient that a chief call the desired object by his own name, or refer to it as being a part of his body, when, if the property of any person of his own or a friendly tribe, it would be at once handed over to him. In this manner Tarakawa bespoke one of the canoes of Ngati-Hikairo, the vessel being a very fast and desirable one. This was the form of his speech: "*Kia rongo, E Ngapuhi! Ko te waka, ka momotu mai ra ki mua, ko taku iwi tuaroa*" ("Listen, O Ngapuhi! That canoe which separates off in front of the others is my backbone"). And he sprang into it as it approached.[2] Once he had named it after this most *tapu* portion of his body no one, without wishing to give offence, would dare to retain it. The usage in this case is termed *taumau*, a word also applied to the bespeaking or betrothal of two young people of rank. A similar custom was that of *taunaha whenua*, when land obtained by conquest was apportioned by chiefs who named

[1] *Old New Zealand*, 110. [2] *J.P.S.*, ix, 56.

prominent features of the landscape after parts of their bodies. Maning describes how advantage was taken of the custom of *tapatapa* by Hongi, Tareha, and other chiefs of Ngapuhi before the attack on Mokoia Island to secure for themselves, in advance of the subsequent sharing of booty, the canoes of the Arawa, which, not yet captured, were at that moment dashing over the lake before their eyes. Even if the *tapatapa* was the result of the utterance of a third party the goods were sequestrated just the same. A young chief at Whangaroa quarrelled with his father and called the pigs of the village by Hongi's name. No sooner did Hongi hear this than he gathered together his people and killed and carried away seventy pigs from the place. This was strictly in accordance with Maori custom. Pigs that were called by Hongi's name could never be eaten by other persons—such would be tantamount to eating *him*. Hence it was his duty to remove them for his own use. Again, an old woman in a fit of anger called all the *kumara* at Kawakawa by the name of the wife of Titoki, which led all the natives of the place to expect a visit from that chief and his people to carry away the crops.[1] In 1860 S. Percy Smith proposed to call a Government surveying boat Takitimu, the name of a Maori ancestral canoe, but was warned that if he did so she would be confiscated forthwith by the elders of the tribe. The boat thereupon received another name![2]

The logic of the transfer of property affected by the *tapatapa* is not hard to understand from the foregoing examples. When once the object by direct contact or by association with the name or body of the chief has become infected with his *tapu*, the safety of the erstwhile owners and the preservation of his own dignity both require that it be handed over to him. Of course in the matter of direct initiative only a chief of some rank and consequence could employ the *tapatapa* ; he had to have the *mana* to back up his word. It must be borne in mind, too, that the privileges of appropriation were not wholly unrestricted. It is true that, as John White points out, advantage was frequently taken of this custom by a covetous chief to seize property belonging to one of his dependents. But since the obligation of reciprocity constrained him to give an adequate return, a very definite limit was imposed upon his powers of acquisition.[3]

[1] *Missionary Register*, 1828, 614. [2] "Peopling of North," *J.P.S.*, vi, 52.
[3] v. also Chapters VIII and XII of this work.

Theft

In Maori society of former days theft was not unknown, but as recorded in traditional tales, was not viewed with an approving eye. Thus it is related how Hotungakau, a great thief, went by night to a plantation and stole *taro* ; on being discovered by the owner he was so severely wounded by a spear-thrust that the next morning he died.[1] Again, one Ira-tu-moana slew Tu-makoka, whom he found stealing a fish from his net on the sea-shore.[2] Perhaps the best known story of theft is the ancestral tale of Tama-te-kapua, who stole from Uenuku the fruit of the *kuru* tree (or as it is termed in the New Zealand version, the *poroporo*) by making his raid on stilts, and narrowly escaped paying the extreme penalty. Where physical punishment of a thief was impossible, magical means were often resorted to, either to induce him to restore the stolen property or to requite him for his crime. As a medium (*mawe*, *ahua*) through which the spells might work, something overlooked by the thief or a piece of some article he had handled was employed, as for instance a shred of an eel-basket from which eels had been taken. Such magic was supposed to render the thief insane, or kill him unless he returned the stolen goods.[3] Samuel Leigh noted in 1823 that a priest showed him the bones of a man whom he had killed—presumably by physical means—for stealing potatoes, and concluded that theft was punishable by death, unless the article was stolen from a stranger tribe.[4] Theft by slaves was summarily treated, a severe beating or death following discovery. The extreme punishment does not appear to have been invariable, however, and certain cases seem to have been amenable to discussion and settlement by less violent means, as a fine. Thus Marsden records that a subordinate chief was accused of stealing a mat belonging to the son of the *ariki*, who announced his intention of making war upon the culprit and killing him. But the matter was finally arranged after public discussion ; the *ariki* demanded a canoe and a slave, which were given him, and this settled the affair.[5] In one case

[1] Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xiii, 51–2 ; J. White, *A.H.M.*, iii, 143.
[2] Best, *J.P.S.*, x, 17.
[3] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxiv, 77; *J.P.S.*, vii, 120; ix, 186. Cf. also the story of Mahu, *J.P.S.*, viii, 122–34.
[4] S. Leigh, *Missionary Notices*, iv, 1823, 66 ; cf. also S. Marsden, *Missionary Register*, 1816, 513, to the same effect.
[5] S. Marsden, *Missionary Register*, 1822, 439.

where a native stole a rope from a European his own chief judged the affair. "*Nau tenei i tahae,*" "You have stolen this," he charged the culprit. "*Tika,*" "True," was the reply. Then sentence was given, "*Kei te pakeha te tikanga o au mea katoa,*" "The *pakeha* has the disposal of all your goods." [1] H. D. Skinner notes that among the Moriori theft of firewood was one of the commonest causes of quarrels, but nothing more severe seems to have transpired.[2]

Not only was theft a matter of censure, and punished when discovered, but precautions were taken beforehand to protect property from depredations. In the inland waters of the Arawa country crayfish were a valued food, and were caught in bundles of bracken set down on the bed of the lake. These were tied together by a rope and known collectively as *tau,* which was marked by a stake and supported by floats. Such a source of food was tempting, and any *tau* which made good catches was liable to be raided by thieves, termed *korara*—to steal was usually termed *tahae.* In some cases the owner of a *tau,* to save his bundles from being robbed, allowed his line to sink to the bottom without floats and with no stake to mark its position. Would-be thieves were thus baffled, and the owner recovered the *tau* by picking up the spot from remembered landmarks, and then dredging.[3] Magical means of protection were also employed against theft (v. *Rahui*).

According to one early writer thieving among the Maori was regarded not as a crime but as an art ! [4] If this be so then it was an art which met with no popular appreciation ! At the same time it must be noted in justification to the native that theft does not seem to have been of very common occurrence. This can probably be correlated to some extent with the fairly even distribution of wealth among the people, the absence of extreme poverty, and the customs of hospitality which provided assistance for those temporarily in need. Most of the early travellers have recorded how in spite of the inestimable value in native eyes of the goods which they carried with them, it was very rarely that an article was stolen, even when left quite unguarded.

[1] F. Hunt, *Twenty-Five Years in N.Z. and Chatham Islands,* 1866, 51.
[2] H. D. Skinner, *Moriori,* 54.
[3] Te Rangi Hiroa, *T.N.Z.I.,* liii, 440. Best, *Maori,* ii, 439, notes somewhat similar precautions against eel-thieves.
[4] G. Lillie Craik, *New Zealanders,* 207.

Reviewing the different means of punishment in vogue for theft it is seen that they varied according to the occasion. The rank and social circumstances of both parties, as well as the nature of the theft, determined the course to be adopted. At times the aggrieved owner, at others the community took action, the means ranging from physical violence to magical spells or exaction of compensatory payment. In all cases except those of immediate bodily retribution the punishment involved a certain marshalling of social forces against the thief, giving the procedure a legal sanction. In general it may be said that the attitude of the Maori community towards theft indicates the reality of the idea of private property among this people.[1]

Lost Property

Lost property seems to have been treated as accruing to the person who found it. The recognized custom was for the finder to retain the article or at all events not to hand it back without receiving something as an equivalent for it. When approached by the original owner for the return of his property the finder could quote as a precedent an ancient and well-known proverb, "*Ko te kura pae a Mahina*"—"It is the treasure picked up by Mahina." This refers to a traditional tale of a man who found on the sea-shore a red head-dress foolishly cast off by its owner, and refused to return it when desired to do so. Such is the case with all property lost when travelling in the forest or on the shore—*e kore e hoatu ki te tangata nana te taonga* (the owner cannot obtain it again)—unless he is prepared to give something in return.[2]

The facts adduced in the foregoing pages show beyond question the existence in Maori society of types of private property held and utilized, with the full public approval, by single individuals. This must be borne in mind when we come to consider at a later stage the question of the so-called "communism" of the natives. Yet this individual property was always subject to a certain social control. This was in essence an acknowledgment of the right of other members of the community to utilize these goods for their own purposes if

[1] Cf. also R. Thurnwald, "Diebstahl," in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*: "The idea of theft presupposes the valuation of economic goods and private ownership of them."

[2] E. Shortland, *Trad. and Superst.*, 13; cf. also J. White, *A.H.M.*, iv, 32. "All the tribes of New Zealand know and repeat this proverb."

the need arose; in such case their action would be supported by public sentiment. This element of communal interest is perceptible throughout the holding of all species of property.

Property of the Household and Other Social Groups

Attention has been directed so far to those items of material culture which were best adapted for use by a single person. Others, however, most fittingly served the needs of a number of persons in conjunction. The most important of these, sociologically speaking, was the dwelling-house (*whare*), which formed a nucleus for the associations of family life. As mentioned in Chapter III, it was most frequently occupied by members of a *whanau*, a family in the more comprehensive sense, comprising some such group as two old people with their children and grandchildren, or several brothers with their wives and children. In connexion with the home were certain adjuncts in the way of sleeping mats, vessels for holding water and food supplies, oven stones, and the like.[1] Practically all other furniture was lacking. The home itself seems to have been the property of the *whanau* as a whole, though its appurtenances, such as cooking vessels, etc., were apparently considered at times as being the private possessions of the women of each individual family. A certain amount of food, kept in store-pits or in a hut on piles, belonged to the common stock, and was prepared as required by the women of the household. Definite information on these points is scanty, but in such matters there was little if any differentiation in individual rights or shares, except as regards the simple deference to age and rank.

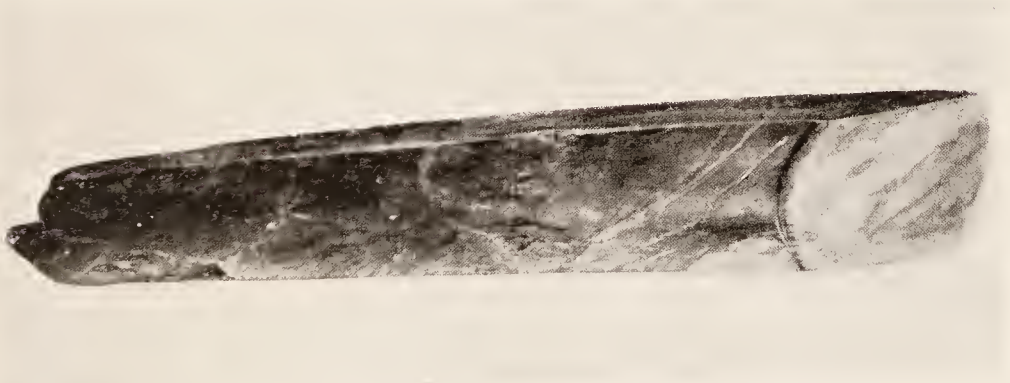
It is somewhat difficult to define accurately the respective economic spheres of the various social groups within a Maori community. At times kinship and local units for example were practically coincident, while at others the scope of their activity varied considerably. Generally speaking, however, the primary ground for the exercise of rights of ownership was by virtue of kinship association.

An obvious factor in determining the proprietal relation between

[1] Prized possessions of the household usually included *taha*, gourds, with carved mouthpieces, which sometimes received names. Great care was taken of them, so that they lasted a whole generation or more, being handed down as heirlooms in the family. The *taha* illustrated in the photograph (Plate XIV) were seen by the writer in the household of the late Te Kotahitanga of Chaua and are said to be sixty years old. They are thought much of as relics of the days gone by. One, which is cracked, has been neatly mended by boring and lashing.

A. VALUED PROPERTY OF OLDEN DAYS

Gourds (*taha*) to contain preserved birds ; also a stone *patu* for beating out flax fibre.



B. A GREENSTONE ADZE-BLADE

This is the largest specimen known (685 mm) and is of the type used in ceremonial exchange. (Auckland Museum Collection.)

[*face p.* 342

the various social groups and the type of material culture accessories over which they exercised control was the comparative size of these latter. Thus eels being an important item of food-supply to many tribes, an eel-weir was regarded as valuable property. A small structure, built on a branch stream, would be operated and kept in repair by the members of a single *whanau* (family group), who would be regarded as the owners of it. A large eel-weir, however, erected in the main river, necessitating heavy timbers and a number of men for its construction, would give employment to the whole village or *hapu*, and would be regarded as the property of this group.

Again, it is axiomatic in Maori custom that the greater social group incorporates the rights of the lesser. This is easily understood when it is considered that the process of group formation was one of successive splitting-off of bodies of nearly related kindred. The Maori tribe was nothing else than the sum total of its constituent *hapu*, the *hapu* an aggregation of *whanau*, all being bound together by ties of common descent. Hence property held by the *whanau* was *ipso facto* owned by its parent *hapu*, and ultimately by the tribe itself. But as a matter of actual practice each *whanau* was a self-contained, self-controlled body, and no other larger group would interfere, unless the matter was one of wider concern. Such was the simple basic principle of native political and social control; it represents a kind of delegated authority through successive kinship divisions.

These remarks will help to a clearer understanding of the mode of ownership of some of the more significant culture items of the community.

In any situation where water transport was practicable each family group had a canoe or two of small size (*waka tiwai*) for fishing or local journeying. Every member of the group had rights of use over such a vessel. Even where the canoe was adzed out by one man alone, his immediate kinsmen seem to have had the right to take it out when they wished. Best quotes as evidence on this point the old saying "*He waka eke noa*",[1] indicating that it was considered as belonging to the group as a whole. One is led to wonder, however, whether this can be taken at absolute face value, or whether within the general group ownership of the vessel there were not individual rights, privileges, and obligations which are left unrecorded. Experience in other

[1] Best, *Maori*, i, 394; *Maori Canoe*, 5; *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxviii, 219.

localities has shown that the undifferentiated group control at first assumed reveals, on closer examination, a system of reciprocal obligations, wherein each member of the group has his well defined rights and duties.[1] War-canoes and other sea-going vessels were the property of the *hapu* ; here there would seem to be less scope for differential individual interests. The headman of the group might be spoken of as the owner, but this would be simply a complimentary allusion ; the canoe really belonged to the community. Here again, though, further research would probably indicate the existence of specific privileges and obligations on the part of various members of the village or *hapu*.[2]

It has already been mentioned that eel-weirs of large size were regarded as the property of the *hapu*, which incorporated thereby the more specific rights of ownership of individuals An interesting case of the working of this relationship is given by a dispute which occurred in the Waikato in 1843 between Ngatipou and Ngatimahuta. Kororipo was the name of an eel-*pa* or weir on Lake Whangape. The greater portion of the lake was owned by Ngatipou, a part of which *hapu* always continued to reside on its banks. Ngatimahuta, who were non-residents, claimed Kororipo in virtue of a member of their tribe, who, having married a woman of Ngatipou, and presumably settled down with these people, built the weir. No children were born to the couple, hence on the man's death the weir reverted to the elder brother of the woman, and thus fell into the hands of the owners of the place. They had therefore the best title to the fishing of the weir. This reversion was said to be in accordance with native law. Ngatimahuta, wishing to evade the claim, went back at least seven generations, endeavouring to show that they were the original proprietors. Kepa, one of the leading chiefs of Ngatimahuta, and a younger brother of Te Wherowhero, was determined to regain the ground by carrying posts along to rebuild the eel-*pa*. Te Uira, chief of Ngatipou, threatened to pull them up if he did. Kepa, who was a Christian, grew rather fractious, and when warned by his pastor of the dangers of resisting the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit,

[1] This has been clearly demonstrated for Melanesia by Malinowski (*Crime and Custom*, 18–21) as against earlier less careful observations.

[2] Crozet notes with regard to Maori canoes that those of ordinary type, manned by seven or eight paddlers, and used mainly for fishing, appeared to be private property ; besides these every village possessed in common two or three big war-canoes. (*Voyage*, 41.)

said, "All that is very true; but I cannot give up my fishing ground." The subsequent efforts of the missionary, however, averted trouble between the two sides.[1] Among the several points which emerge from this narrative is the indication of how a personal right established by the efforts of one member of a tribe was taken up by the principal chief as representative of the interests of the whole group. It also illustrates one of the principles of the inheritance of property.

The ownership of other sources of food supply seems to have been much of the same type. In working the agricultural land of the village, the people all joined together, and the clearing of the ground, planting, and other processes were accomplished by combined labour. Each family, however, had its own plot (*rauwaka, taupa, waiwaha*) in the communal field, and these were marked off by paths or in some cases by stones at the corners or set in rows along the sides.[2] Rat-runs in the forest were carefully guarded, since they furnished a much appreciated flesh food by trapping therein. Such a rat-run might be the property of a number of persons, each one interested having a right to a well defined portion of it. If the rat-run were especially long it might be shared among several *hapu*. Poaching on the section belonging to another was not allowed, and trouble would ensue if any such encroachment were discovered. The system of ownership in regard to land in general, with the interplay of specific economic rights, will be discussed in the next chapter, where the question of tribal control will also receive further consideration.

The meeting-house, an essential item in the cultural life of any village, seems usually to have been regarded as the common property of all the inhabitants. As a rule it was erected by their joint labour. It may have been that the chief gave the stimulus to its building, or provided the greater portion of the food and gifts necessary to pay for its erection, but it was not on that account held to be his property. He exercised preponderant

[1] Ashwell, *Missionary Register*, 1844, 156. Rev. J. Morgan of Otawhao gives (ibid., 158) an account of a somewhat similar dispute about an eel-fishery. One tribe mustered to dig out the trenches and build their eel-*pa*. The opposite tribe sent a message that they might dig them out, but that when finished *they* would fill them in again. In the end, however, both parties finally agreed as to the boundaries in dispute. Cf. also the quarrel some few generations ago between two brothers, leading chiefs of a *hapu* of Ngati Maniapoto, over an eel-weir which really belonged to neither, and the arrangement by which ownership was to be decided. (*J.P.S.*, xxi, 100.)

[2] Best, *Maori*, ii, 374, 376.

influence in the management of it, but it was by nature a house for communal assembly, and was treated as being the property of all.

A somewhat analogous situation obtained in respect of certain kinds of valued ornaments and weapons, heirlooms descended from various ancestors of the tribe through a number of generations. By reason of their associations they were regarded with great reverence, and were often thought to be possessed of some supernormal virtue. All of any importance bore proper names. These were held by members of chiefly families, and were handed down by them to their sons or nearest male relatives. If they had more than family interest, however, they were looked upon by the people as being tribal property as well, held in the nature of a trust by the chief. Such heirlooms were brought out on ceremonial occasions that the people might admire them and perhaps *tangi* over them in greeting ; and when circumstances warranted they were even handed over as gifts to chiefs of high rank in other tribes.[1] In this way they served as material symbols of the exchange of goodwill. In the act of presentation performed by the chief the consent of the people, though not given open expression, was implicit. It has already been explained in an earlier chapter how the possession and use of such objects of wealth helped to raise the prestige of the chief and strengthen the bonds of social unity around him.

[1] Details of some well-known heirlooms of this type may be given, e.g. Te Rau-o-piopio was a *moa* feather famous all over New Zealand. It belonged originally to Ngati Hine Hika, thence passed into the hands of the Turanga tribes. Tamahou is said to have had it in custody and from him it passed to his son Te Waka. When, however, Te Kakari of Ngaitahu died, Te Waka went to the burial ceremonies, and as a mark of the utmost respect went directly to the corpse and stuck this precious feather in its hair. It then appears to have been buried with the body (W. E. Gudgeon, *J.P.S.*, vi, 181). Other famous heirlooms are : Te Awhiorangi, perhaps the most renowned of all, adze of the Aotea canoe, with a history going back to the night of time when the props of Heaven were severed from Earth (*J.P.S.*, ix, 229–33) ; Te Manokuha, Te Rakuraku-o-tawhaki, Hui-te-rangiora, adzes of other ancestral canoes (Best, *D.M.B.*, 4, 11) ; Te Kura-a-ninihi (*J.P.S.*, ii, 234), and Te Kura-a-Tuhaeto (*J.P.S.*, v, 10) of even greater *mana*, said to be head-dresses; Kaukaumatua, Kai-tangata, ear pendants (C. O. B. Davis, *Maori Mementos*, 15). The latter was at one time the property of Te Waharoa, famous leader of Ngati-Haua in the early decades of last century. At a great assembly of persons to lament him on his death, the pendant was given to Te Rauanganga of Waikato, father of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the first Maori King. Subsequently it found its way back again to a branch of Te Waharoa's family, and was held successively by several chiefs of Ngati-Haua. " It is said that Kai-tangata has passed through the circle of many an ancient Maori family, and amongst them that of the great Taupo chief Te Heuheu—its early history, however, seems little known."

As regards terminology Hamilton (*M.A.*, 226) gives *kanawa* as meaning a precious war weapon which is handed down as an heirloom and used by the senior warrior of the family. *Manatunga* is a term applied to a keepsake or remembrance from a relative ; *oha* also means a keepsake.

The manner in which valued heirlooms were held in trust by chiefs for their people and the way in which tribal considerations overbore personal interests is well illustrated by the history of an ear pendant known by the name of Tuohungia. This came into the possession of one of the most famous Waikato families, and was held by them for six generations. Thus :—

Huaki (a chief).
Te Kurutae whakaaea (his son).
Te Aturangi kahu (son).
Puata (son).
Te Rauanganga (son).
Indirectly to
Potatau te Wherowhero (son).

By Te Rauangagna the pendant was given to Te Haupa, a well-known chief of Ngatipaoa tribe of Thames, on his marriage to a Waikato lady of rank. On the death of Te Haupa it was inherited by his eldest son Rakatau, and from him it descended to a younger branch of the family, represented by Te Raurowha. After the death of the latter it was claimed by his son Te Aho who was married to Tamo, a woman of renown of Ngatiteata tribe. The pendant now passed into the hands of the bride's father Te Tawha, who resided in the fortress of Mauinaina. This was stormed by Hongi in 1821, and Te Tawha with others fled to Awhitu on the Manukau, where he buried the heirloom in the sands. Going later up the Waikato to Matakitaki, he was killed at the fall of that stronghold, and all knowledge of Tuohungia was lost with him. Some years later, however, a gale uncovered the pendant, and an old man, walking from one village to another, found it. Rejoicing in his prize, he bore it away to a safe hiding-place. Later, however, he told the *tohunga* of his discovery, and the news soon spread abroad that a valuable greenstone pendant had been found. "The whole village was speedily aroused, and a sight of the much talked of *pounamu* loudly demanded, when to the dismay of the old man and the joy of the multitude it was recognized as the long missing 'Tuohungia'. It was immediately taken possession of, and carried to an appropriate part of the settlement, where the people gathered round to weep over it, their wild lamentation resounding through the woods. After the mourning was over, 'Tuohungia' was given to the chief Kaihau, who at that time was the representative of the family of Te Tawha. The joyful news

soon spread from village to village, and on its reaching Te Wherowhero, his daughter Te Paea was despatched to fetch the venerated stone. It was arrayed in the choicest vestments, and carried off with solemn pomp to the great Waikato chief. At a public exhibition of ' Tuohungia ' there was a considerable concourse of persons, who, as a great favour, were permitted to gaze on the bequeathment of their forefathers. A loud and long mourning ensued, after which the almost deified heirloom was placed in the safe custody of Ta Kerei te Rau." By this man it was finally presented in 1853 to Sir George Grey on his departure from New Zealand.[1]

The vicissitudes of Tuohungia, which could be paralleled by those of other heirlooms, indicate several points of interest: the free circulation of valuables among families of rank; the tendency shown by most items of the kind to be returned after a period to the family of the original owners; and the extremely strong sentiment of mingled love and awe which the people as a whole felt for such tribal treasures. This last is a factor of great importance in the whole system of exchange of such heirlooms, and is fundamental to the native idea of value.

Sometimes the possession of an heirloom was held to be significant of ownership of a wider sort, being correlated with that of lands or other economic resources. The treasure, through ancestral association with the other property in question, became a token of the rights of the owners. An example is given by the contention of Ngati-Whakaue in the Motiti dispute, that being able to claim relationship with the possessor of the greenstone pendant Kaukaumatua, brought over by their ancestor Tama-te-Kapua from Hawaiki, they had a better right than their Waikato opponents to occupy the island.[2] In this the connexion between the pendant and the land, though existent to the native mind, is not clear to us.

From the data now provided it is evident that the holding of property by individuals in Maori society does not represent sole or exclusive ownership of it. A definite predominance of control by single persons was accompanied or qualified by an

[1] C. O. Davis, *Maori Mementos*, 15.

[2] E. Shortland, *Trad. and Superst.*, 304. F. D. Fenton (*Orakei Judgment*) notes that a slab of greenstone called Whakarewha-tahuna was said to carry with it the *mana* of the Tamaki district, and possession of it was evidence of ownership of the land. This was the piece of *pounamu* which was used as the well-known gong in the *pa* of the great chief Te Kiwi at Maungakiekie.

over-right of the mass of the community to use such goods to serve a wider need. It is not certain to what extent this principle had been acutally formulated by the native, since no relevant information has been collected on this problem. Specific record is lacking, too, of these incidents in village life which show how the individual sacrificed his personal rights in favour of communal needs, or was constrained to do so by public opinion. Even such apparently trivial detail as a village squabble over property can be fitted into a wider scheme of social and legal principles, and may be an important feature of the study of the precise inter-relation of individual and communal interests in ownership.

Inheritance

The inheritance of property is of more legal than economic interest. It is essential to make clear, however, that there really were rules of this kind in Maori society and that the goods of the deceased person did not simply descend by vague amorphous custom to the remaining members of the community. This is a further vindication of the existence of individual rights of ownership. As the matter of inheritance has already received treatment from the side of general social organization, no great effort will be needed here to reveal the underlying principles.

All the children shared in the allotment of the property of the deceased parent. When a man left no near relatives, his more portable possessions were often buried with him; others, such as his house, were allowed to fall into decay. In the ordinary way, the weapons, tools, clothing, etc., of the dead man were shared fairly equally among the children, but any especially valuable item, such as a dogskin cloak or an ornament of greenstone, became the property of the eldest son in virtue of his position as head of the family. He generally took the chief part in arranging the division of the goods. A large indivisible piece of property such as a canoe would be used by common consent by all the children.

Women could hand down their property to their female relatives. Thus in some districts, as Ruatahuna, the *tanekaha* trees from which bark was obtained for dye were scarce and were consequently valuable, receiving special names. Only the descendant of the original ancestor who found or was assigned a given tree might take bark therefrom. Stone *patu* or pounders

for beating flax fibre were highly prized, and were handed down from one woman to another, one specimen (now in the Auckland Museum) being five generations old. An instance of the manner in which property descended in the female line is given by the ornament, often an heirloom, which a mother fastened round the neck of her child shortly after its birth. Best notes how when the daughter of Te Wahamu was born the mother hung round the child's neck a kind of necklace, termed *hangaroa*, made of shells of different colours arranged on a cord, which had been in the family for several generations. In later days the daughter, not having any children, hung the ornament round the neck of her brother's child when she was born, and on the death of this girl the necklace was buried with her as a token of affection.[1]

Hereditary rights in productive resources were a great feature of the Maori economic system, such rights being often made over by the father *inter vivos*. Among the Tuhoe people as a general rule the privileges of trapping on rat-runs were acquired by the female members of the family, the males getting the *toromiro* trees on which birds were snared. One person would be granted the rights over certain snaring trees, another would be given the bird troughs, others a good fishing stand or a stretch of rat-trail. The children were taught the location or boundaries of such things in youth, accompanying their father on fishing or bird-snaring trips, and being carefully coached by him in all details. Meticulous knowledge of boundary marks was of great importance to the old-time Maori. Disputes over inheritance, of course, arose from time to time, but much confusion was avoided by the custom of making public the details of all gifts or divisions of this kind. The communal opinion then acted in after days as a court of appeal.

Thus, when a person was dying he usually announced to his assembled relatives his wishes regarding the disposal of his personal property, and his interests in tribal lands, so that no trouble might ensue after his death. This was done in a formal speech, and was equivalent to the last will and testament of our more civilized communities. This expression of his desires had a very powerful effect, from its being a public statement by one at the point of death, and was regarded as definitely binding on his relatives, who saw to the execution of his plans. Such a statement would have to be utterly alien to their temper

[1] E. Best, "Lore of the Whare Kohanga," *J.P.S.*, xvi, 4.

before there could be any refusal to act upon the wishes of the dead. Without any undue extension of terminology this custom of *ohaki* (*poroporoaki*) or public speech before death may be called a part of the machinery of law in the Maori community.[1]

Maori "Communism"

A certain intellectual rapport has always existed between the anthropological and the social reformer, to be attributed perhaps to that strain of idealism which leads the student of human affairs to see in both the past and the future state of man gleams of a brighter and purer light than that which is visible through the dingy atmosphere of present conditions. The anthropological paradise has more than once been located in the simplicity of primeval culture. Here then is the augury of hope for the fashioner of a new Utopia, for what man has once experienced that can he taste again. Only let him be rid of certain cumbrous institutional fetters, and he will once more walk free amid the glories of the Golden Age. Hence it is not difficult to understand the partiality of the apostle of social reform for some types of anthropological data and concepts which may serve as illustration for his theories. This contact has also promoted the borrowing of socialist terminology in certain anthropological circles.

Of recent years the idea of a primitive communism has become widely current. By anthropologists and social philosophers it has been used to characterize the state of man in primeval times, or even in some regions of the earth to-day, and it has been accepted by political idealists who seek thereby to give a foundation of historical reality to their schemes of social reconstruction.

Of more specific interest is the use which has been made of this concept by field-workers in our immediate sphere. It becomes important then for the study of Maori ownership to make clear its implications.

To understand its application to the question of property the best method of approach is to consider this so-called Maori communism first of all in its full social bearings. Various writers, among them the most authoritative, make liberal use of the term. In his opening remarks on the subject of Maori social organization Elsdon Best, after commenting on the manner in which the

[1] Various aspects of inheritance are referred to by Elsdon Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxi, 651–2; xxxvi, 22; xxxviii, 160, 219; xli, 246; xlii, 458.

family groups and clans closed their ranks and presented a united front when threatened by danger from without, observes, " It is then the sociology of an interesting communistic and neolithic people that we are about to examine." [1] In this communism were to be found elements of great value for the preservation of the race ; even when customs of this type appeared to be harmful from our point of view they were in reality well adapted to the plane of culture which the Maori had attained. Communism was fitted to the needs of the people who practised it. Speaking of the willing response of the native to the call to arms he says, " A communistic state doubtless has its disadvantages, but it is suitable to certain culture grades, and was so in the case of the Maori." [2] And it is the change from this mode of life that is responsible for much that we are apt to condemn in the Maori of to-day ; many of the weaknesses or backward phases of his character as it is displayed in modern life are the relics of the communistic life he has lived so long. " A communistic people of the Maori type cannot cast aside the habits of a thousand years and step fully equipped into a superior plane of culture ; the change in social, political, moral, and spiritual life is too great." [3]

It is in terms of communism that many of the institutions of the Maori are to be explained. The lack of civil law is partly supplied by the " communistic spirit ", the system of kinship terminology is " strangely affected " by the communistic life of the native ; in land tenure " the Maori held tenaciously to his communistic methods ", while his system of exacting compensation for offences is " a mark of communism ". A somewhat lengthy quotation will give the gist of Best's opinion and his estimate of the social importance of this phenomenon. After discussing the strength of the bond of kinship in Maori society he goes on to say : " The communistic spirit, in days of peace and plenty, may seem to have been isolated in sporadic pockets or centres, the family groups, but when war, or some political movement, called for universal and concentrated effort, then our family group pools coalesced and flowed together to form one stream. In a higher culture stage than that to which the Maori had attained,

[1] *Maori*, i, 339.
[2] Ibid., i, 355 ; *Social Usages of the Maori*, 1.
[3] *Social Usages*, 4.

we find that the tribes coalesce and so form a nation, and, when the nation is so formed, we may expect to observe the decadence of communism. It is indeed well with that nation if its members can uphold the cohesion of the commonwealth by retaining and exercising certain primitive virtues of communism, such as the strong sense of public duty and a recognition of the rights of others." [1]

Similar opinions are held by other writers, who allude to various other phases of this primitive state. Thus J. A. Wilson says: "As in his private warfare, so in his general life, the Maori was a thorough communist. But through the warp of this communism woofs of chieftainship and priestcraft were woven and formed a texture strong enough to answer all the requirements of his simple civilization. . . . Although the chief carried himself with an air of authority, and the priest wore an appearance of superiority, each was subtly influenced by the communism of the body of which he formed a part. The former felt the pulse of the people before taking a step; the latter did not disregard their feelings and prejudices." Again, in speaking of the prenuptial unchastity of the Maori girl, he observes that she "had been from earliest youth in principle and practice a communist of the free love kind . . . But when she became a wife she rose to a higher sphere. Her animal habits changed as if by magic. Her communistic shell was cast (!) and she emerged an individual, a faithful Maori matron with all the rights and obligations pertaining to her new condition".[2] It is plain that to writers such as these the salt of the word "communism" did not easily lose its savour. James Cowan also shares these views. "The social organization of the Maori tribe was as well-nigh perfect a commune as can be imagined. It was communism almost pure and undefiled; a commonwealth in which practically all had equal rights." Each individual took a full share of the tribal duties and in return had the whole force of the tribe to assist him when in need. The same idea operated in the economic affairs. "In all important undertakings, the full force of the tribe was employed, and though it had its drawbacks in other ways in these the communistic stage of society showed its advantages to the full." [3]

[1] *Social Usages*, 3.
[2] J. A. Wilson, *Ancient Maori Life and History*, 1894, 30–1.
[3] *Maoris of New Zealand*, 142-3. For still other instances of the use of this term see Cowan, *Maori Folk Tales of Port Hills*, 49; J. C. Johnstone, *Maoria*, 36.

When we turn to the treatment of questions of property the same concept of communism is found to enter. Among some of the earlier writers, from inadequate contact with the natives or defective observation, the idea prevailed that private property was virtually non-existent among the Maori. Thus Du Clesmeur remarked, " Everything is held in common amongst them, the women as well as the men observing this law." [1] Dr. Thomson states that although landed property was universally recognized, the individualization of movable property was unknown, and that " from the community of property among the New Zealanders, no man could become rich and no man poor ".[2]

Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers pleasantly remarks that in heathenish times the Maoris had a community of goods; every clan, generally under the leadership of a minor chief, lived and worked together, and the potatoes, fish, and birds which they produced belonged to the " community of the clan ".[3] Again, the frequent habit of natives of giving away among their relatives on their return home all goods which they received for, perhaps, months of work has been held by Europeans to indicate a communistic outlook. It is doubtful if this is so. Thurnwald has shown that among certain Melanesian tribes this is due to the necessity for the individual to repay his tribe for the loss of his services during his absence. Among the Maori, considering the strict reciprocity of gifts which obtained (v. Exchange), this custom cannot be regarded as a simple partition of goods among people who wanted them, but a matter of handing over novel and desirable articles in the expectation that an equivalent return would afterwards be made. Such is not communism. This idea of an absolute community of goods is not endorsed even by the most casual study of such facts as have been adduced at the beginning of this chapter.

Later writers have recognized quite clearly that private individual ownership of goods existed among the Maori, but have introduced or retained the term " communism " to describe the general system of property holding. Thus Wilson remarks, " As I have said, the Maori was a communist. Except perhaps a patch of land he might own privately, and his weapons and

[1] R. McNab, *Hist. Rec. of N.Z.*, ii, 475.
[2] *Story of N.Z.*, i, 98.
[3] *Memories*, 122; cf. also ibid., *T.N.Z.I.*, xiv, 128.

ornaments, the only thing he could draw the line at, and safely say 'This is mine' was his wife." [1] And Best, in discussing native land tenure, points out that the individual was by no means a negligible factor when it was a question of rights and privileges. "Broadly speaking," he says, "the system was communistic, but a closer examination puts it in a somewhat different light." He then proceeds to explain that every person in the tribe possessed his share of the tribal lands, that he did not have rights to all these lands, but only to those in which his parents were owners, that each family group owned a certain defined area in common, but that each family and sometimes each person had a definite and separate portion to work for cultivation, fishing, fowling, etc. At the same time no person or family could dispose of any land without the consent of the group or clan as a whole.[2] From descriptions of this latter type one can learn much concerning the relevant features of land ownership, and in this respect Best's writings offer a mine of valuable information.

This somewhat formidable array of statements, comprising the main body of opinion with regard to the communism of the Maori, has been given in order to indicate how comprehensive and fundamental this phenomenon is deemed to be in the native society. In war, in kinship nomenclature, in family affairs, in economic life, in the holding of property it was omnipresent. Now in using any general concept of this kind it is essential to have analysed it, to have made clear exactly what is meant by its use. Yet if the work of these various writers who so freely use the term communism be examined it is found that at no point do they attempt to explain what they understand by it. Apart from the absence of any definition, no consistent or detailed account of the precise operation of the communistic principle is given. One can only judge of its significance from the context—varying greatly—in which the term is used. Generally speaking, what seems to be implied is a deference to public opinion, an obedience to the control of the community in matters of warfare, marriage, or the holding of property, a practice of joining in social and economic undertakings from public-spirited motives rather than from individual interest.

But "communism" as used in the social sciences—and

[1] J. A. Wilson, op. cit., 30.
[2] Best, *Social Usages*, 9; *Maori*, i, 394–9.

at times even by politicians, the press, and the general public—is a word with a definite basic connotation. In all its varieties of meaning it retains the essential points : a common ownership of the means of production, labour contributed according to ability, and a sharing out of the fruits of industry on the basis of the needs of the members of the society. And, which more directly concerns us here, it is antithetical to the institution of private property. Whether as the ideal communism of More, Campanella, or Harrington, or as the economic programme based on the *Manifesto* of 1848, such is its fundamental significance.[1] To apply the term to any vague form of group activity or group control is only to introduce needless confusion.

Such has actually occurred with regard to the Maori scheme of ownership. Communism, properly understood, is incompatible with an extensive system of private and personal rights, especially in the sphere of the means of production. Among the Maori, as we have already had occasion to prove, there did exist exclusive individual property in weapons, tools, clothing, and other common articles, there was distinct family and even individual ownership in food, and quarrels arose at times through misappropriation of one man's share by another. When a number of people went fishing in a canoe, baskets were often provided to keep each man's catch separate. In agriculture each family had its own plots of ground within the large cultivation area worked by the community, and the harvest therefrom went into its own private store-pits. When the roots of *ti papa* (*Cordyline pumilio*) were being cooked those of each family were tied up in small bundles distinguished by a peculiar knot in the flax cord, so that the property of each might be kept separate. The privilege to take game from rat-runs and birding-trees was strictly guarded by each separate family, and even within this group individual claims and appropriation were recognized.

So here we are confronted by a " communistic " society with private property in ordinary goods, closely defined family and even individual rights in land, and also, it will be remembered, monogamous marriage with exclusive sexual appropriation—surely a somewhat inconsistent state of affairs !

[1] See e.g. Wm. Paul, *The State : its Origin and Function*, and *Communism and Society*. For a good statement and critique of the Communist doctrine see the recently published book by H. J. Laski, *Communism*, 1927.

Consideration of the manner in which the term " communism " is used in these descriptions of Maori institutions thus leads one to the conclusion that they fail to show any adequate appreciation of its real significance. Indeed, at times it appears to be used as a kind of catch word, with no relevance at all. Thus Cowan talks of matrimonial infidelity: " Lapses of this sort generally become quickly known amongst a communistic people like the Maori, where one person's business is everybody's." [1] To this one might reply that the same complaint is made even in modern bourgeois circles! Elsdon Best, in speaking of public discussion of intending marriages, remarks: " Communism breeds strange customs, and considerable stress was laid on the fact that a marriage was arranged in a proper and orthodox manner." [2] The reader is left to wonder if this be such a strange custom after all, and why indeed it should be regarded as peculiar to communistic societies. Again, one learns that " in all communistic societies public opinion is an exceedingly strong force, a corrective and preventive power of great utility ".[3] And again Best describes a meeting which was called for the purpose of congratulating the parents and relatives on the birth of a child of high rank and also " in order that the people might express their gratification at the occurrence, which meant much to a communistic folk ".[4] Here again the word " communistic " has no special ideological significance. Is it only in communistic societies that public opinion is a strong corrective force, that the birth of a child of high rank attracts attention, and is a matter of gratification to the people? It is high time that a protest was made against the gratuitous use of the term " communistic " in a perfectly general context in which it carries no real meaning. It has now been sufficiently well shown that the formula of " communism ", not backed by any attempt at clear definition, has been loosely and unnecessarily employed in speaking of Maori institutions.

The argument of the preceding pages has not been a matter of mere terminological criticism. The use of such a general concept in a superficial manner is damaging to anthropological studies. In the first place it tends quite wrongly to align Maori

[1] *Maoris of N.Z.*, 159.
[2] *Maori As He Was*, 102.
[3] Ibid., 87.
[4] Best, *J.R.A.I.*, xxxii, 1902, 141.

institutions with those mooted in the programme of a certain section of modern social reformers. This gives a misleading idea of native life and a false basis of imagined reality to the historical background of political theories. A more serious defect is, however, that the uncritical acceptance of such a formula glosses over the inadequate analysis of native institutions. The label of "communistic" applied to the Maori system of holding property has effectually prevented any detailed study of the nature of the rights and obligations of individuals toward one another, or to their group, and the function exercised by the community as a whole. When once the facile term of "primitive communism" is discarded a wealth of social and economic relationships is revealed. This has been shown by Malinowski in his examination of the intricate system of rights, obligations, and rewards of the persons concerned in the ownership of the Trobriand canoe. Workers in other fields such as H. Trimborn, A. Knabenhans, and more generally R. H. Lowie and R. Thurnwald, have shown the inadequacy of the concept of primitive communism and have produced valuable studies of the reality of native ownership.

On analysis, then, the "communism" referred to by Maori ethnographers resolves itself into the communal holding of certain species of property, and the recognition of a kind of ultimate right on the part of the community to intervene in the interests of its combined members, in the administration or disposal of the private property of families or individuals. This right, however, seems to have been exercised but rarely; as a rule the management of private property was left entirely to its owners, and external interference even by close kinsmen was deprecated, or even resented. The limits and character of the control of property wielded by the community have already been treated to some extent in the foregoing pages.

As a matter of terminology the exercise of these rights by the community as a whole is best termed "communal" ownership. This may in theory and in every society actually does co-exist with private property, no matter how exclusive this latter may be. Property held by subordinate groups within the community may be termed "collective", further description being added to explain whether it is held by a family or other set of kindred, an economic association or the like.

Finally, then, as the examination of Maori institutions has

shown, forms of ownership by individuals, by families, by larger kinship groups, and even by the full membership of the community exist side by side in different species of property and are mutually compatible. Moreover, in considering the sum total of privileges and obligations which together constitute the ownership of any object, it may be found that the different rights may be exercised over it by each of the various social groups.

Chapter XI

THE LAND

Whatu ngarongaro he tangata, toitu he whenua.
Man perishes, but the land remains.

Maori proverb.

As in the last chapter, this inquiry is concerned more with the economic than with the legal aspects of ownership. The position of land is peculiar, from its fundamental relation to economic life—not only does it provide home and dwelling-place for the people, but it is also the source from which they draw the raw materials for the ultimate satisfaction of their needs.[1] It is essential, then, to understand the value attached to it in native eyes, and the system of regulation in force for the utilization of its gifts.

The question of land in relation to a native people is often treated as a matter of pure economic interest, as if the sole concern of these folk lay in the productive power which the soil manifested for them. It is on this basis that many of the theories as to the evolution of property in land are constructed. In the hunting or collecting stage, there is assumed to be no idea of individual ownership, each man roaming freely over the territory of his group; it is only with the beginnings of a more settled life, associated with agricultural interests, that personal rights and claims in land commence to be strongly felt. Economic considerations are imagined to preclude the necessity for individual privileges in the first case, and to promote it in the second. That absence of private ownership in land is not always the case among hunting peoples has been shown by a number of investigators, to mention only Dr. and Mrs. Seligman for the Vedda, and Professor F. G. Speck for the N.E. Algonkian Indians. Quite apart from this, however, it is unsafe to argue the case on *a priori* grounds, since factors of a non-economic character may well play a vital part in linking together persons and land. Even among the lowest savages it is probable that various kinds of sentimental associations, springing from residence, ancestral

[1] The various uses of land to the Maori have been detailed in Chapter II.

connexions, or religious beliefs may provide the basis for a strong bond of union between groups or even individuals and the land, and thus create property ties. Such non-material influences are often the most powerful in determining economic conduct.

Sentiment of the Maori for his Land

In considering the economic aspect of the Maori system of land-holding it is essential, then, to examine in addition the non-economic factors involved. The Maori had a great respect for land *per se*, and an exceedingly strong affection for his ancestral soil, a sentiment by no means to be correlated only with its fertility and immediate value to him as a source of food. The lands whereon his forefathers lived, fought, and were buried were ever to him an object of the deepest feeling. "*Noku te whenua, o oku tupuna*"—"mine is the land, the land of my ancestors" was his cry. This deep-rooted affection received expression in a number of ways, of great interest to those who study the thought and behaviour of primitive man.

Proverbs about land show the fundamental place which it occupied in the Maori scheme of things.[1] "Man perishes, but the land remains," the saying quoted at the head of this chapter, might be taken as the epitome of one branch of the native philosophy. In this, the permanency of the land is contrasted with the instability of human existence. The corollary is also implied that to save his land from being despoiled a man should always be ready to lay down his life. A similar proverb is "*He kura tangata, e kore e rokohanga; he kura whenua, ka rokohanga*", which compares treasure in man with that in land. It is freely translated by Best as "People die, are slain, migrate, disappear; not so the land, which ever remains".[2] The importance of land as a cause of warfare is indicated by the oft-quoted proverb "*He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata*"—"By women and land men are lost". These twain, as ever, lure man to destruction.[3] Another saying of old, illustrative of the affection of a person for his native soil, is "I greet my only surviving parent in the world, the land".[4] In speeches also the same feeling is expressed, and one cannot help but be struck by the vividness of the metaphors used by these savage orators. When the question of the ceding of the Waitara lands to the

[1] Cf. Firth, "Proverbs in Native Life," *Folklore*, xxxvii, 134–53; 245–70.
[2] Best, *Maori*, i, 400. [3] Firth, op. cit. [4] Best, op. cit., i, 397.

Crown was imminent, Wiremu Patukakariki rose up and said, "Governor, Waitara shall not be yielded to you. It will not be good that you should take the pillow from under my head, because my pillow is a pillow that belonged to my ancestors." And Paora Karewa stood up and said: "Listen, Governor! I will not give Waitara to you. It will not be good that you should drag from under me the bed-matting of my ancestor." [1]

When the people of Ngati-Toa, under pressure from strong neighbouring tribes, migrated from their ancestral homes to a district some two hundred miles to the south, they bade an impressive farewell to their lands as they left. Every nook and inlet of the forest-girdled harbour of Kawhia was endeared to them, not only by its picturesque beauty, a quality which the Maori can fully appreciate, but by the sentimental associations of childhood and the traditions of the tribe. Not only had it been the tribal home for centuries, but in the rugged cliffs near by were the gloomy limestone caverns where lay the bones of many generations of their ancestors. Evoking perhaps the most powerful feeling of all was the sacred grove of trees on a point overlooking the sea, where their ancestral canoe Tainui was finally drawn ashore after her long ocean voyage, and where by traditional tale she yet lies beneath the soil, turned to stone. So, as they departed, the people ascended the hill at Moe-a-toa (or Kamara) and looking back to Kawhia grieved at leaving the home of their fathers. "They cried over it and bade it farewell, saying," Kawhia, remain here! The people of Kawhia are going to Kapiti, to Waipounamu." And Te Rauparaha, the warrior chief who led them away to carve out for themselves a new home in the south, expressed in song his lament:

"There lie below the seas of Honi-paka
Parted from me now for ever,
My gaze in longing, lingering glance
Follows the fleecy cloud that hither drifts
Across the forest groves there scattered
Bringing, as it were, a message from my home.
Here let me bid a sad farewell in parting
To the loved ones of our tribe in ancient days . . ."
. . . and so on.[2]

[1] W. Martin, *Taranaki Question*, 41.
[2] W. L. Travers, *Te Rauparaha*, 89; S. Percy Smith, *Taranaki Coast*, 340–3. Honi-paka is the name of a beach at Kawhia.

The chanting of a lament bidding farewell to one's home and lands just before death was not an uncommon custom. Even in the stark cruelty of war the tinge of softer emotion could still find place. Sometimes after a battle a captive asked permission to sing such a song, and the uplifted weapon was stayed for a moment while the last farewell was uttered. It happened on occasions that a prisoner, when about to be slain, asked to be conducted first to the border of his tribal lands that he might look upon them once again before death. This was sometimes done for him. Or he might ask that he should be allowed to drink of the waters of some stream which flowed through the borders of his home. Cases are known when, being a person of consequence, he was escorted to such a stream, or a messenger was sent to procure water for him that he might drink—after which he met his fate. This courteous compliance with what seems to us a somewhat singular request gives evidence of the recognition which was accorded even by an enemy to the sentimental attachment of a person to his lands. On occasion, prisoners who were kept as slaves sent a message to their friends in their own tribe: "*Tukuna mai he kapunga oneone ki au hai tangi*"—"Send me a handful of earth that I may weep over it," which being done, they were able to greet once more in semblance the land which was lost to them. When the chief Rakuraku was too old to travel, his young people, when they returned from his lands at the head of the river, used to bring him a branchlet of a tree that he might greet over it.[1]

In a time of great stress the courage of the people was sometimes stirred by an appeal to their emotional regard for their tribal lands. Several instances are recorded in Maori history of how in the heat of battle, his people broken and flying before the enemy, a chief of influence has rallied them and saved the day by driving his spear or staff into the ground and standing firm, with the words, "Let me die on my land." Rarely has a tribe failed to respond to such an appeal.[2] In a case which came up before the Native Land Court, one claimant, Noa te Huke, rested his whole title on the dying words of a female ancestor of his, "Take me not away from the land, but bury

[1] Best, *J.P.S.*, xii. 164; *Maori*, i, 397.

[2] For instance, the chief Korokai of Arawa by acting in this manner before the gate of Ohinemutu saved the village and its people from destruction at the hands of Ngati Haua (J. A. Wilson, *Story of Te Waharoa*, 91, 110).

me within hearing of the Rangitahi waterfall." [1] A picturesque phrase given in a letter of some Hauraki chiefs expresses, too, the intimate connexion which to the native mind exists between a person and his land. "The blood of the European is shed in his money, but as to the blood of the Maori, it is shed on his own land." [2] The transfer of territory to the *pakeha* (white man) in the early days of settlement was often accompanied by affecting scenes of farewell by the assembled people to their tribal lands, songs, laments, and speeches giving token of their grief. Often the idea was expressed that they were exchanging a permanent for a temporary satisfaction. "Look around at those mountains and to that fine harbour; they are durable, and cannot be destroyed. What we receive for it will give a small parcel for each of us and will soon be consumed: the tobacco soon smoked, the pipes broken, and the clothes worn out." [3] And such it has too often proved to be! The manner in which sentimental associations are bound up with the holding of land is further shown by C. W. Ligar, the Surveyor-General, in an interesting letter to an early newspaper. There was a dispute as to the boundary of lands between two Waikato tribes, Ngatitipa and 'Ngatipou, which culminated in some fighting. "Every spot of ground is associated with some particular deed connected with their many engagements and triumphs. One is sacred because a man of rank fell there; another because it is the place where he is buried; and another is named to commemorate the place where they ate their enemies. The history of these places is handed down from father to son, the retaining of them in their possession has become more dear than life." In consequence of this, when the first demarcation of the land was discussed, the Maori proposal was to make the graves of the chiefs who fell in the preceding unpleasantness the boundary marks, and then to run the boundary crooked, so as to keep as many of the little disputed places as they could. One gathers that the resulting jigsaw was a little too much even for the accommodating sensibilities of the Surveyor-General! [4] An interesting description, showing the affection of the native chief for his ancestral territory, is given by Best, from whose sympathetic account the following sentences are taken. "The love

[1] W. L. Buller, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxvii, 154.
[2] *Aborigines Friend*, 1865, 478.
[3] E. Dieffenbach, *New Zealand*, 22.
[4] *New Zealand Spectator*, 20th Feb., 1847.

that the Ngati Ira had for their lands is shown in the many songs and proverbial sayings which have been preserved by their descendants. It is but a few weeks since that I stood on a hill overlooking the harbour of Ira in company with a lineal descendant of the great chief Whanake and his famous wife Tomairangi, and well do I remember the tone in which he spoke of the lost lands of his tribe. How well he knew every point and hill, bay and flat, stream and forest and the old names thereof, together with many strange tales connected with them! With what pride he pointed out the scenes of former combats in which his people had been victorious, and recounted to me the legends of the land of Tara. How earnest he was in showing me the places named in remembrance of his ancestors—how he described to me the beautiful appearance of the harbour in those pre-*pakeha* days . . . Coming down to later times he spoke of the encroachments of the white people and the disappearance of the Maori from their old time homes. No trace of anger or resentment could I detect in his words or tone, but a certain spirit of proud melancholy and despondency as he said, 'Very great is my love for this land' . . ." [1]

It will hardly be alleged, I think, that the citation of such examples borders on mere sentimentality; a real value attaches to such a record of the affection of the natives for their land, since it reveals the emotional background against which economic privileges are exercised. To a certain extent the existence of this sentiment may be correlated with the recognition of the value of the tribal land as a source of food. There is something to be said for Travers' point of view that the necessity for cultivation and the exercise of hospitality were of paramount influence in determining the intensity of this interest.[2]

But means of maintenance and the fulfilment of social obligations do not cover all the factors involved; appreciation of the landscape, association of the names of natural features with the memories of bygone years, with home and family, the linkage with tribal fights, sacred places, the burial of ancestors—in fact all the interests generated by the play of the æsthetic emotions and social sympathies as well as the weight of traditional teaching combine to create the sentiment for the land.

[1] Best, "Stockades and Earthworks in New Zealand," *Amer. Antiquarian*, xvii, 1895, 155.

[2] *Te Rauparaha*, 27.

Sometimes an outstanding feature of the land may be linked with the tribe in a special way. Thus the cone-shaped mountain of Taranaki symbolizes after a fashion the *mana* (the psychic power) of the tribes of the surrounding district ; in former days it was strictly *tapu*. Again, the tribal *pepeha* (motto) of the Taupo people links up the lake, the volcanic mountain near by, and their chief in the saying, " Tongariro is the mountain, Taupo is the lake, and Te Heuheu the chief." Indeed, so significant to the mind of the native is this association between the tribal leader and his natural congener that at times it almost seems doubtful whether it is the tribe which owns the mountain, or the latter the tribe ![1] Again, of the highest range north of Auckland the saying runs, " *Ko Taramainuku te tangata, ko Tutamoe te puke,*" by which it is implied that the descendants of Taramainuku claimed the mountain.[2] It may be noted how this linking together of the name of chief and mountain in a tribal saying thus served, among other purposes, to establish a title to the land.

The general attitude of respect and interest of the Maori in his land is reflected, as might be surmised, in traditional tales. Some of the most important of these are the accounts of the landing of the ancestral canoes in New Zealand more than twenty generations ago, and here are recorded full details of the land-hunger of the immigrants, their eagerness to acquire fertile tracts and even waste expanses, their journeyings and halting-places, and the names which they so freely bestowed. These tales, which portray the constant preoccupation of these old adventurers, also reveal the same dominant interest as a characteristic of their more modern narrators.

An appreciation of this emotional attitude of the native towards his lands helps us to understand more clearly the value which he put upon them and the system of ownership under which they were held.

Some Aspects of Native Tenure

Much has been written on the subject of Maori land tenure, not always with knowledge and impartiality, but even in the relevant literature there are opinions which it is difficult to reconcile. What is required is an adequate study which will be based on native concepts and not on European juristic ideas,

[1] W. E. Gudgeon, *J.P.S.*, xiv, 57.
[2] S. Percy Smith, " Peopling of the North," 39, *J.P.S.*, vi.

which will recognize the vital importance of emotional as well as purely rational factors, and will consider ownership from the political and economic as well as from the legal point of view. A work of such scope cannot be undertaken in this chapter. All that can be attempted is to indicate the main principles of the system of the tenure of land in the light of our previous conclusions, with specific reference to the problems of its economic utilization.

The land of New Zealand may be considered as a number of territories over each of which a separate tribe exercised jurisdiction. It maintained its position, in the last resort, by force of arms. This is the explanation of the statement sometimes made that the title to land in New Zealand rested only upon force, or, as Maning put it in less serious vein, every native who is in actual possession of land must be held to have a perfectly good title—until someone shows a better by kicking him off the premises! General principles, however, cannot be covered by the extreme case, and the title by conquest, *te rau o te patu*, is quite inadequate as a full explanation of the native system of land tenure. To state as Busby does, that the native knew no law but that of the strongest is incorrect. Even when meditating the acquisition of land by force a tribe was usually careful to justify its action by uncovering some old *take* or cause which gave them a claim to it. In our own enlightened international circles the approved defence of property by arms is not unknown, but the legal title rests on a different basis. Among the Maori, conquest takes place as but one among a number of possible major grounds of ownership.

The influence of the tribe as a whole was paramount over any portion of the land held by the members of it, and no action of any moment affecting it was valid unless ratified by the tribal opinion. Thus no matter what rights to a specific area a man might have he could not dispose of them to others unless this was in accord with tribal policy. Considerable friction between native and European was caused in the early days of the colony by our lack of understanding of this principle, notably in the case of the Waitara lands, where the Government upheld a purchase from a subordinate chief, Te Teira, against the openly expressed refusal of Wiremu Kingi and other chiefs representing the bulk of the tribe.

It is true that the Maori has the habit of speaking of the

deeds or possessions of the tribe as if they were his own ; thus in relating the story of a tribal fight which occurred long generations ago, and in which his people gained the day, he will say, "*Naku i patu*" (It was I that smote them). In the same way he will indicate a large tract of country and with a wave of the hand remark, "This is my land." In either case his use of the pronoun is but figurative ; he neither believes, nor normally means his hearer to believe, that he himself is the sole person concerned. He speaks simply as one of the tribe. A convenient formula to express the way in which the relation of the individual to the land is qualified by the interest of the community is given in saying that in Maori land there was an individual right of occupation but only communal right of alienation.[1]

The same principle of tribal over-right held good for the lands of families or even *hapu*. It was only when a *hapu* was of great strength and felt itself to be practically independent of the parent tribe that it would make arrangements for any disposal of its landed property without consulting the general wishes. Conversely, any invasion of the land of a *hapu* by an extra-tribal enemy would at once bring up the remainder of the tribe to its assistance. The *hapu* sometimes fought among themselves, but a threat to the tribal land from outside closed all domestic quarrels for the time being and united them in common opposition to the invader.

The Chief, the Land, and the Tribe

In all matters affecting the handling or disposal of the tribal land the head chief exercised great authority, a position of control due to his normal social status rather than to his direct claims of ownership. If it were the occasion of transfer of land—which did sometimes happen under the old Maori regime—it was he who took the lead. And in all ordinary matters affecting its control he was the spokesman and also the trustee for his people, the guardian of their honour and the protector of their interests. At times chiefs have ceded land on their own responsibility and without consulting their people, but the validity of such cession depended upon the ratification of the act by the tribal opinion, which they had gauged beforehand. This point is clearly shown by a remark in a letter (translated) of Ihakara Tukumaru and other chiefs to Thomas Williams, in regard to the Manawatu-

[1] Such is also the view of Judge F. O. V. Acheson, of the Native Land Court, who is preparing a treatise upon the Maori system of land tenure.

Rangitikei lands. Having offered these for sale to the Government, they nevertheless point out that their act, the individual proposal of the leading men, must still receive the general consent. "The final discussion as to selling or refusing to sell rests of course with the whole tribe . . . You are sufficiently acquainted with the system of land-selling—that it is only when chiefs and people are agreed that the land can be absolutely ceded." [1] At the same time the authority and prestige of an *ariki* (head chief) with his people was usually so great that his opinion, once firmly stated, was very often sufficient to sway the minds of the tribe to support his decision.

With refereuce to this, McDonnell points out that a chief's *mana* did not give him a better right to the land than anyone else in the tribe. It would often be said of a chief that he was "*he tangata whai whakaaro, he tangata whai mana*", a man of understanding and power, but this did not mean that he had power over the land to part with it or in later days to sell it or claim it as his own—unless power to do so had been conferred on him by his tribe. On the other hand, though such a chief, according to old Maori custom, had no power to part with the land on his own initiative, he had great influence in preventing the tribe from parting with it or from managing it in any way detrimental to the tribal welfare. The tribe, without any demonstration, but as a natural matter of course, held that the land was vested in the chief to hold in trust for them.[2] The relative position of chief and people in an affair of this kind depended upon his personal influence with them, the power he had of estimating the popular feeling, his gifts of persuasive oratory, as also the internal politics of the community at the moment. As a rule, however, he would not act without first sounding the subordinate chiefs and men of rank and obtaining from them an expression of opinion. In a public discussion on land matters every *hapu* of the tribe formed its own decision and

[1] T. C. Williams, *Ngati Raukawa Letter*, lxxii.

[2] The following gives a good idea of the position: "'Have you any land?' is asked of a big chief. The answer invariably is 'Yes', and then follows a description and names of hills, valleys, and streams. 'Is all this yours?' 'Yes' is the reply. 'Will you sell me a piece of it?' '*Taihoa me korero ahau ki taku iwi*' (Wait till I speak to my tribe) is the reply of the chief if he is an honest man. . . . Now when that chief said the land was his he did not mean the simple European or missionary who asked the question to understand that he claimed it as his own private property, but that it was the land of his tribe, over which he had a tribal claim." (T. McDonnell, "Opinions on Native Tenure," 17, from *Evening Post Supplement*, 2nd May, 1888.)

was not forced to accept the general ruling. If a *hapu* disagreed with the majority of the tribe its spokesman would say plainly, "*Ko te puta matou ki waho o tenei korero*"—"We will keep outside this decision."[1] Such action was usually of a negative kind.

The control of a principal chief over the tribal land was not undifferentiated in scope, but varied from an immediate property interest in certain areas to a somewhat vague social or political jurisdiction over others. To restate the position more precisely, the chief did not have a personal claim in all the lands of his tribe. To certain places he had an individual right, derived from his ancestors, from occupation or from some other cause, and he also possessed a claim in pieces of land held in common with his relatives. His interest in the remainder of the tribal territory was of a socio-political rather than of an economic nature, i.e., he exercised great influence over it in major matters of control, but received no material benefit therefrom. It was as the guardian of the tribal interests, not necessarily as a prominent owner, that he spoke with authority on questions of management and alienation. This has been made clear by, Martin, Geo. Clarke, Hadfield, Buddle, T. McDonnell, and others, who have shown that the headman in a community or a powerful chief may be a small landowner, and yet, having but scant claim to a certain area, may exercise very great influence in the disposal of it. At the same time McDonnell notes that a chief who was not a landowner could not preside at a tribal land-meeting or occupy any important position there. Out of courtesy his opinion might be asked, but if given it would be qualified by his adding, "*Kahore he tikanga i au; kei a koutou, kei nga tangata whai whenua*" ("I have no say in this matter; it rests with you, the landowners"). This seems inconsistent with previous statements, but clearly refers only to the position of a subordinate chief in regard to specific areas in which he had no personal interest. McDonnell in fact prefaces his remarks by saying that the *ariki*, the chief of high rank, had considerable influence over the land belonging to the tribe, and that the lesser chiefs also had their "right of say" in all tribal land matters. Nothing, however, could be satisfactorily settled until it had been fully discussed by the tribe, when the principal chief would give his opinion.

[1] T. McDonnell, loc. cit.

The Rights of *Hapu*

It has often been stated that the land in New Zealand was held in common ownership. Friedrich Ratzel, for instance, disposes of the whole question by stating that the conditions of property among the Maori corresponded most closely to the primitive state of things, and that individual possession was entirely wanting, each regarding the common land as his own.[1] As Best justly remarks, however, there is much more to be said on this point. The tribal territory was in reality made up of the lands of the various *hapu*, each jealously and exclusively maintained, while further segmentation gave private rights of many kinds to family groups and individuals. The position of the *hapu* may first be considered.

Data as to the precise definition of rights as between the *hapu* and the tribe are difficult to obtain, due partly to the lack of clear distinction between these two social units. The actual position seems to have depended very much on the status of the *hapu* concerned, some being important enough to rank practically as independent tribes, others of lesser size being much more closely affiliated with the parent body. The mode of growth and progressive segmentation of these social groups, which has already been explained in a former chapter, indicates, too, the manner in which land interests were related. The general position seems to have been that the various major *hapu* of the tribe safeguarded their lands very carefully against one another, that trespassers or food poachers were severely punished or even killed, and that warfare, involving considerable loss of life, not infrequently arose among them from disputes about land. At the same time the *hapu* would unite to protect the interests of any one of them against forces from outside the tribe. Again, it was usual for a *hapu* to give way if it was considered that a proposed alienation of its land was prejudicial to the interests of the tribe as a whole.

Some instances may now be given of the control exercised by the *hapu* over the specific economic resources which they claimed against the other divisions of the tribe. In many cases the limits of these were very carefully defined. Thus in former times the Ngai Turanga *hapu* of the Urewera had rights to the waters of the Tauranga river between Otara and Okehu, but had

[1] *History of Mankind*, 1896, i, 284.

no riparian rights, i.e., they had the fishing privileges of the stream, but no claims to the land on either bank at that part.[1] In Southland the natives assembled every October and November to catch the lamprey. The best stations on the rivers were well known, and only certain *hapu* had the right of working from them, each having a strictly defined *pa* (fishing stand), a section of the rock from which its members alone were entitled to take the fish. The rights to these *pa* were ancestral. The names of six of these fishing stands have been preserved at each of two celebrated river falls.[2] Nicholas in 1815 remarked on the existence of sharply defined fishing rights at Kawakawa, the limits being marked out by stakes driven into the water. He observed several rows of these stakes belonging to different "tribes" (? *hapu*), each having their prescribed boundaries beyond which they did not venture to trespass for fear of punishment from their neighbours.[3]

The exclusive attitude which the people of a *hapu* adopted towards their economic privileges is indicated by many incidents in Maori history. Thus rat-runs, being greatly prized, could ouly be worked by persons who owned the land or who had formally been given the right to trap thereon. Any unauthorized trespass was fiercely resented and might end in bloodshed. A party of Ngati Koura who went from Ruatoki to take game in the forests near Parakahi were attacked by the people of the Ruatahuna district and severely defeated, the *hapu* concerned being both of the Urewera tribe. Again, when some members of the *hapu* of Ngati Mahanga went hunting *kakapo* on one occasion, it was on the lands of Ngati Tawhaki, who promptly slew, cooked, and ate the offenders.[4] When Ngamaihi were living in a *pa* at Puketapu they sent a party to obtain fern-root at Titina-roa where the *mata* variety of that root, which was much used for food in olden days, grew abundantly. Ngati-tama-oki *hapu*, who were also of Ngati-awa tribe, objected to this as a trespass on their rights, and so attacked the fern-root gatherers, but were unhappily defeated by them.[5] Again,

[1] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 476.

[2] H. Beattie, "Nature Lore of the Southern Maori," *T.N.Z.I.*, lii, 53. Beattie translates *hapu* as "family", which is misleading (cf. also Martin, *Taranaki Question*, 6; J. White, *Maori Land Tenure*, 189). The *hapu* in former times might number several hundred or even as many as a thousand people.

[3] *Narrative*, i, 235.

[4] Best, *J.P.S.*, xii, 213. Cf. also ibid., xiii, 6; xi, 73.

[5] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xli, 261.

two *hapu* of an East Coast tribe, Ngati Rakai-rangi and Ngati Hikuwera, had a standing quarrel over a certain *pua manu* or tree on which birds were caught. It stood exactly on the acknowledged boundary, but both claimed it. One year Ngati Rakai set their snares in the disputed tree and secured that season's catch of birds. Naturally this angered their neighbours, and when the next season came they placed their snares in the tree very early. On visiting it a party of Ngati Rakai saw the snares, climbed up, threw them down and smashed them. Then they looked for foot-tracks, discovered them, followed, and eventually came upon a man of Ngati Hiku, whom they killed. So began a little war.[1] Disputes also used to occur about shark fishing grounds, such as those off Puponga point and elsewhere in the Manukau harbour. Ngati-kahu-koka claimed these grounds, as also did Nga Iwi of Maungawhau, the latter in their capacity of senior *hapu* of the tribe. This was the cause of strife between them. At times intervals of peace obtained, when both *hapu* would go fishing together, but this rarely lasted long, because if one side caught nothing, they would accuse the other of witchcraft.[2]

Incidents of this type, which might be freely multiplied, show that the partition of the tribal land was no empty form, but that the rights of the various *hapu* were maintained with exclusiveness and vigour.

The Rights of Families and Individuals

But within the territory of the *hapu* there was distinct appropriation by *whanau* (family groups) and by individuals. This has not always been recognized. John Mackay in an essay, on native land tenure observes that " as far as can be ascertained the lands of a sub-tribe or sept [*hapu*] were held in common and there were no cases of individual rights or ownership in land, unless by the death of all but one of the members of a sub-tribe ".[3] Sir William Martin also holds this view. He points out that the lands of the tribe did not form one unbroken territory over which all tribal members roamed at will, but were divided into a number of districts corresponding to the various *hapu*. This is true. But he then goes on to state that within each of these the families or individuals of the *hapu* were free to range as they pleased, cultivating or taking the natural products of the soil.

[1] Tunui-te-rangi, *J.P.S.*, xiii, 128. [2] John White, *A.H.M.*, iv, 117.
[3] *Our Dealings with Native Lands*, 3.

"There is no paramount or controlling power either in the tribe or in the sub-tribe to restrain or to direct the exercise of this right of appropriation. Each family or freeman may use and appropriate without leave of any." [1] The bulk of evidence goes to show that such statements are incorrect. In fact, Martin himself is inconsistent, for in the same pamphlet he states that for the most part boundaries are carefully defined and that in the immediate neighbourhood of villages the land is minutely subdivided, each separate plot belonging to a single person, who cultivates it himself or with the help of his family. And writing fifteen years later he emphasizes this last point. "The holdings of individual cultivators are their own as against other individuals of the community. No other individual—not even the chief—can lawfully occupy or use any part of such holding without the permission of the owner." [2]

These economic privileges secured to families or to individuals within the lands of the *hapu* were of a varied nature. They comprised rights to birding trees, shaggeries, deposits of red ochre, fishing stands, subdivisions of rat-runs, shell-banks, patches of fern-root, clumps of flax, places for setting eel-traps, and the like. A very minute allotment was sometimes observed. Thus when a number of trees suitable for fowling were in the possession of a family they might be divided up among the various members, each having the sole right of setting snares on the few which were his share. At other times the trees of a family were worked together. Rights of cultivation were also enjoyed by families as against other members of the community, and, as already mentioned, in the neighbourhood of a village the subdivision was quite minute. Trees suitable for the construction of canoes were highly valued, and were often regarded as private property, marks being placed on the trunk to denote ownership; a quarrel ensued if the tree were interfered with by unauthorized persons. The right to utilize such a tree was handed down from father to son.[3] The reality of these private rights could be demonstrated by various examples,

[1] Written in 1846; quoted *Opinions on Native Tenure*, 3.

[2] *Taranaki Question*, 2nd ed., 8; cf. also E. Shortland, *Maori Religion*, 90; Terry, *N.Z.*, 98-9; A. Bastian, *Inselgruppen in Oceanien*, 189-90; E. Shortland, "Sketch of Maori Races," 5, *T.N.Z.I.*, i; W. Fox, *War in N.Z.*, 1860, 23.

[3] For evidence, see Shortland, *Maori Religion*, 51; W. Martin, *Taranaki Question*, 45, G. Bennett, *Gatherings of a Naturalist*, 415; E. Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xli, 246, 265; xlii, 447, 457-8; H. J. Fletcher, *T.N.ZI.*, li, 261-2; ibid., *J.P.S.*, xxvii, 43-5.

showing how they were jealously conserved, and their infringement punished. There is for instance the historical tale of a quarrel between two brothers, one of whom took a bird from the tree of another, and in consequence was struck on the head; another tells of the usurpation of the fishing rock of an elder brother by the younger, who coveted it, and the appeal of the dispossessed one to their father. (It may be noted that the plaintiff was non-suited in the case. The father held that he should have killed the trespasser first and asked questions afterwards!) [1]

In some cases a private right to an agricultural plot, a fishing ground, or a birding tree was exercised by one individual alone, in others by a number of people in common, such as the members of a family. This latter was often the case where the original holder left a body of descendants, who might then agree to regard the fishing ground or cultivation as joint property. Apart from these specific economic resources reserved for private use, there were also areas of land which any person of the community might utilize at will, or again which were worked and controlled by combined effort for the benefit of all. These corresponded roughly to the "waste" or "common lands" of the mediaeval village.

In this analysis of the Maori system of land tenure it has been clearly shown that the simple description of it as "communal" or "communistic" is grievously inadequate. Within the territory of the tribe each *hapu* held its lands in exclusive possession and within this again were various species of ownership, closely defined and pertaining to the various groups of relatives, to families and to individuals. The whole forms an intricate system of rights and privileges, obedient to the supreme dictates of the tribal welfare, and is not capable of description by any single comprehensive term.

"Unoccupied Lands"

A great number of erroneous statements have been made from time to time concerning the relation of the Maori to his lands. In general they do not deserve serious notice, but one type of opinion is of sufficient importance to be reviewed here. Towards the middle of last century it was held by a number of writers that large areas of the lands of New Zealand were

[1] W. E. Gudgeon, *J.P.S.*, xiv, 61-2; *J.P.S.*, xxiii, 73.

unowned and unoccupied by the Maori, and could therefore justifiably be utilized by the European colonist for purposes of settlement. The grounds for this opinion lay in observation of the comparatively small numbers of the native population, the insignificant nature of their cultivations in proportion to the size of the country, and the large areas of land apparently untenanted. A number of people took the opposite side, however, and maintained that there was no land in New Zealand which had not some native proprietor, an assertion which provoked a lively controversy.[1] It is not my intention here to consider the merits of the arguments of these early land-settlement days, but it may be pointed out that the view of these latter writers was vindicated by subsequent investigation. Despite the comparatively small population in pre-European times, there was no appreciable area of land anywhere in the country which was without its owners. Districts devoid of permanent inhabitants were yet visited periodically if not for cultivation at least to obtain other food supplies. Swamps were drawn upon for eels, raupo pollen, and flax, lakes and streams for fish, forests for berries, timber, and game, while other portions of land were valued as sources of red ochre, stone for implements, etc. Again, the extent of ownership of land was not correlated merely with its economic productivity. The sentiment felt for it and the strength of ancestral associations, as already shown, were factors of great importance in determining ownership. Naturally, interest in fertile or productive lands was greater than in those of lesser economic utility, but the latter were never quite neglected or without a claimant.[2]

[1] For typical statements denying native ownership in the greater part of the New Zealand lands, see *Fisher's Colonial Magazine*, 1844, N.S., i, 205, 237, 482. The contrary point of view was maintained—correctly—by the Aborigines Protection Society and others, though their opinion was often based rather upon sentimental considerations than accurate knowledge of native custom (*Colonial Intelligencer*, i, 1847, 7, 152; 1848, 183). The reproof administered to the Society by one of its opponents is interesting. "I think that they and their Agents, by assuming that the savage inhabitants of New Zealand have any rights of property in the wilderness land which they do not occupy, and which remains unsubdued to all the purposes of man, do grievously err in judgment, being totally ignorant of the rights of property as they exist in the law of nature and are set forth in Holy Writ"! (*Fisher's Colonial Magazine*, Feb., 1848, 198).

[2] Major W. G. Mair, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxii, 74; W. Martin, *Opinions on Native Tenure*, 3; Tyrone Power, *Sketches in N.Z.*, 135; John White, *Maori Land Tenure*, 185. "I may state without fear of contradiction that there is not one inch of land in the New Zealand Islands which is not claimed by the Maoris; and I may also state that there is not a hill, or valley, stream, river, or forest, which has not a name, the index of some point of Maori history." Also W. Swainson, *N.Z.*, 150; F. E. Maning, *Opinions on Native Tenure*, 18; J. W. Stack, ibid., 27; E. Best, *Maori*, i, 396.

The Title to Land

The modes by which rights to land were acquired and retained may now be considered. These were of three main types—conquest, occupation, and ancestral right.

Conquest and Discovery.

In days of old wars were frequent, and large areas of land changed hands as the result of conquest of the original owners, accompanied in many cases by a literal absorption of them by the victorious tribe. Such land was termed *whenua raupatu*, and the nature of the original title would not be forgotten. When the territory was left entirely open for occupation the method of *taunaha whenua*, bespeaking of land, was sometimes followed as a means of acquiring title among the conquerors, this being a custom of the same type as the *tapatapa* mentioned in the previous chapter. This practice also obtained, according to tradition, on the first discovery of certain districts of New Zealand by the fourteenth century immigrants. It is recorded in the story of the coming of the Arawa canoe that the shore was distinctly seen one morning at daylight. Tama-te-Kapua, the leader, at once sprang up and called out : " That point there (Maketu point) is the bridge of my nose." Tia, another chief, eagerly arose and said, " That hillock to the south there, and hitherward to the mountain is the belly of Tapuika " (his son), while Hei interrupted by saying : " From behind the mountain there extending to that range of mountains indistinctly seen in the north is the belly of my son Waitaha." It was for this reason that the other chiefs on landing proceeded to the south ; the district had all been annexed by those three men.[1] Rights to land seem also to have been established by those early discoverers on the basis of a kind of prospecting trip during which they travelled over and named the land.[2] To traverse a district in this manner for the purpose of establishing possession was termed *takahi*, meaning literally to " tread " the land.

Occupation.

For a title to land obtained by conquest or discovery to be valid, occupation had to be effective. If one tribe were defeated

[1] Takaanui Tarakawa, *J.P.S.*, ii, 235. For similar incidents v. also J. Cowan, *Maoris*, 86 ; J. W. Stack, *T.N.Z.I.*, x, 85 ; J. Mackay, *Our Dealings with Native Lands*, 3 ; John White, *A.H.M.*, iii, 253.

[2] For instances see W. H. Roberts, *Maori Nomenclature*, 71–86 ; John White, *A.H.M.*, 220 ; E. Shortland, *Maori Religion and Myth*, 68–87.

by another and their lands occupied, the original owners, if thoroughly dispossessed or enslaved, had no further claim to the land, unless in future years they could win back their territory again by intermarriage or force of arms. But invasion and driving out of the inhabitants was not sufficient to establish a title if the land were not permanently occupied. Again, even if the land were settled for a time by invaders but the dispossessed tribe still managed to maintain itself in freedom within its own borders, scattered in the forest or in hiding in the mountains, their title to the whole of the land still held good. "*I ka tonu taku ahi i runga i toku whenua*—my fire has ever been kept alight upon my land" was the saying, indicating that their rights had not been extinguished. The proof of this continuity was sufficient to establish ownership in later years.

In ordinary times periodical visits were made to the borders of tribal territory, where small pieces of ground were cultivated, birds snared, or rats trapped in order by such acts to keep up the rights of possession in these lands. This also served as a challenge to neighbouring tribes to contest the claim. Thus at the time of Cook's arrival, Ngati Whanaunga, according to Horeta te Taʻmiwha, were living at Whitianga. "Our tribe was living there at that time. We did not live there as our permanent home, but were there according to our custom of living for some time on each of our blocks of land to keep our claim to each, and that our fire might be kept alight on each block so that it might not be taken from us by some other tribe."[1] Certain areas lying on the borders between two tribes were *whenua tautohe*, debatable lands, claimed by both sides, and were often hotly contested, each party endeavouring to establish ownership, though not actually occupying the land.[2]

Ancestral Right.

One most important basis of ownership to land was ancestral right (*take tipuna*). This leads to the consideration of the rules of inheritance in land. As this subject has already been dealt with fairly fully by a number of writers, all that need be given here is a summary of the main principles involved.[3] A Maori could inherit land through either parent, so that if his

[1] White, *A.H.M.*, v, 121 ; cf. ibid., 39, for an example showing that occupation was necessary as well as conquest to establish ownership. For exercise of rights over land v. Yate, *N.Z.*, 103 ; Dieffenbach, *Travels*, ii, 114–15.

[2] E. Shortland (*Trad. and Superst.*, 280) terms them *kainga tautohe*.

[3] v. also the brief reference in Chapters III and X.

father and mother happened to belong to different *hapu* or different tribes, he would become possessed of land rights in both. In regard to the actual apportionment of landed property a diversity of custom seems to have obtained, varying, perhaps, according to district. Thus it has been stated that land descended from a father to each of his sons in turn, and that it was only on the death of the last surviving son that the chidren of the eldest could inherit. At the same time, the land always tended to revert to the eldest branch. It is in this light that one can understand the statement made by early writers that a Maori always preferred to trace his claim to land through his grandfather rather than through his father. In regard to the inheritance of land by girls, a diversity of opinion is found. Sometimes it is said that they inherited equally with their brothers, at others that they received no land at all, but shared only in the movable property of the deceased, it being added as a corollary that they were given a piece of land by their brothers on marriage. It seems probable that either might occur according to circumstances. The crux of the problem in regard to the inheritance of land by women lay in the fact of marriage. For if a girl married a man from a stranger tribe and went to live with his relatives, as was usual, those people, through her children, would gain a footing in any lands she possessed. This was contrary to the best interests of her own kinsfolk, hence we find that the opinion of the brothers of a girl had great weight in affecting the decision as to her marriage. If she were insistent, then she might be sent off landless to wed. " The woman goes, and goes without her girdle " is the proverb. If the dowry of land was given, and there was no issue of the marriage, the land reverted on the woman's death to her brothers. In any case the husband could acquire no interest in it beyond cultivation during his wife's lifetime.[1]

Disputes sometimes occurred between members of the same tribe over the ownership of a piece of land, or the right to exercise certain privileges on it. The question was generally thrashed

[1] For discussion of inheritance of land, v. E. Shortland, *Trad. and Sup.*, 271 et seq.; E. Tregear, *Maori Race*, 129; J. White, *Maori Land Tenure*, 109; J. W. Stack, *Opinions on Land Tenure*, 22; E. Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 32; *Maori*, i, 399; W. E. Gudgeon (*J.P.S.*, iv, 31) notes how Tuwhakairiora, the great warrior, established himself on lands given to his wife Ruataupare, and so consolidated his position; again (ibid., vi, 179, 182), how Ngati Kahungunu tribe, by intermarriage with the people of Hawkes Bay, obtained a footing which they could not have secured by force. *Turuturu* (also = weaving stick, etc.) denotes a title to land by descent from ancestors whose right is undisputed.

out in open assembly of the people, each party endeavouring to prove his claim by the recitation of his *whakapapa* or genealogy, substantiating it by citing acts of ownership or occupation performed without opposition by his ancestors, such as cultivation, taking of game, putting a mark upon a tree or rock, or some similar deed by which priority was established. A mark or sign of this kind was termed *tohu whenua* (land-token). To provide evidence of ownership sometimes the *iho* or umbilical cord of a newly born child of rank was hidden together with a small stone on the land or the boundary thereof, so that in future years it could be referred to in case of dispute. Spots where these were concealed were *whare pito tamaraki* (shelters for the umbilical cords of children) or *takotoranga iho tamariki* (receptacles of the umbilical cords of children).[1]

It will have been noted that conquest, occupation, and ancestral right are not mutually exclusive grounds of ownership, but may be concurrent or supplementary. In addition to these main bases of claims to land, there are a number of others, depending upon special circumstances, and very often simply of individual concern. A few of these may be enumerated. Thus a person might have a certain right in the lands of another tribe or *hapu* if he happened to have been born thereon, if his blood had been shed there, if an ancestor of his were buried there, or if his umbilical cord had been severed there. Once a chief from whose head-dress a feather had been brushed while travelling stopped and built a little fence around it with twigs, thereby establishing a claim to the land. Another who was pleased with the catch of eels in the river of a stranger tribe took the albatross-down tuft from his ear and threw it into the water, by this act securing an interest in the land and in the periodical eel-fishing. On the Tamaki River near Auckland is a place called Te Pupu-a-Kawau. Here a chief of Ngati-Paoa, Te Kawau (the shag) by name, combed his hair and left the combings in a small bundle on a pole. He thereby made the locality *tapu* to himself and occupied it. Hence some of Ngati Paoa were dwelling in that place when Europeans first arrived.[2] Many similar performances have been recorded. When the owners made no objection on the spot, these acts have been used later to found claims to the

[1] E. Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxx, 38; *Waikaremoana*, 16; *J.R.A.I.*, xliv, 151; *Maori*, ii, 11, 17.

[2] Information supplied by Mr. Geo. Graham.

land which have been admitted by the proprietors. Both here and in the former instances the essential underlying idea seems to have been that by this occurrence the personality of the man became connected with the land, and he was therefore entitled to a share in it. No explicit native theory, however, seems to have been formulated on this point. There is no doubt that in post-Eurpoean times this principle has often been unduly extended by claimants in the Native Land Court. In the ordinary way, when a man established a right of this specific type, he exercised it by periodically visiting the land to work it, by receiving a portion of the produce from the actual occupiers, or by obtaining compensation if the land were alienated.

Transfer of Land

Under the old Maori regime the transfer of land in bulk apart from conquest was comparatively rare, as may be gathered from the sentiment which attached to it. Natives were always reluctant to part with land, especially that which had long ancestral associations, or contained burial places, etc. On occasions, however, it did change hands as a "gift", generally as an equivalent of one kind or another. Data on this head is of interest, little attention having been paid to this point, so that a number of examples may be cited. Instances are recorded where lands have been thus ceded, to celebrate the occasion of peace-making between two tribes, as *utu* (compensation) for a breach of *tapu*, for a murder or for people killed in war, for assistance in war, on marriage, to atone for adultery, to a tribe who wished to settle, and to re-equip relatives who had suffered a calamity. Thus when peace was made between Ngati Hauiti and Ngati Ira, Tu-te-rangi-ka-tipu, a chief of the former tribe, rose and spoke, giving to the latter people Nuiwhiti and other lands.[1] In historical times a considerable stretch of land in the Bay of Islands district was given by Kawiti to the chiefs with whom he had been at war. "The only payment I can offer for your dead is the land on which they fell—namely, Kororareka. I am about to leave this place for ever; and henceforth you must consider this land as yours."[2] Again, when Te Purewa was speared and left for dead by a war party, Te Hani, the chief of the district where this occurred, afterwards

[1] J. White *A.H.M.*, iii, 154.
[2] C. O. B. Davis, *Kawiti*, 17.

made over to him a piece of land in the vicinity of the fight, in satisfaction for his blood having been spilt there. He had no ancestral claim to lands in that region.[1] When Ngati Rongo assisted the Kawerau tribe against Ngati Paoa, on their return home the latter gave their allies the lands around Puhoi, where some of their descendants live to this day.[2] Again, land near Ruatahuna was given by Hine-rotu to Te Arohana as a reward for his services in avenging the death of her husband, and the descendants of that warrior have held the land for eight generations.[3] When Piki of Ngai-te-au committed adultery her people made over to Ngati Rongo, her husband's kinsfolk, a piece of land. In the ordinary way such land might be redeemed in after years by the adulterer and friends on handing over a certain amount of goods (*me u ki te taonga*).[4] An instance of the cession of land for canoes is given in Ngati Kahungunu history, and throws some light on the manner in which exchange was conducted in former times. These people wanted land, and explained to Te Rerewa and his Rangitane the object of their coming. Said Te Rerewa, "My lands will not be parted with for your garments and weapons, but if it were the bowl of your ancestor then indeed might an exchange be effected." Ngati Kahungunu understood at once that the canoes in which they had come were meant, for they knew that their hosts intended to migrate to the South Island. So they agreed to the exchange, but as the amount of land involved seemed to be in excess of the payment, they offered, if shown a *totara* forest, to hew out more canoes, and so bring the number up to seven. Thus a proper equivalent would be rendered. This was done, and they hewed out three more canoes. Arangements were then made for the cession of the land, and Ngati Kahungunu were finally conducted to a hill top and shown the principal features of interest—a lake for eels, a *pua tahere*, or bird preserve, etc.—and told the name of each. So was the transaction concluded.[5] Several examples kindly made known to me by Mr. Geo. Graham are worthy of being placed on record. Certain people of Ngati Tamaoho had suffered death by an act of *kohuru* (treachery) at the hands

[1] E. Best, *J.P.S.*, xiii, 80.
[2] S. P. Smith, *Peopling of the North*, 98.
[3] Best, *J.P.S.*, xi, 158.
[4] Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 52.
[5] *J.P.S.*, xiii, 160; v. J. W. Stack, *Opinions on Native Tenure*, 22, for ceding of land in vicinity of a burial place in return for garments and a whalebone *mere*.

of people of Ngati-te-Ata. Compensation was made by the *tuku* or donation of lands known as Te Auaunga, on the Waikato River, between the Heads and Tuakau, an area which is still owned by Ngati Tamaoho. When a chief of the people of Ngati Tai of Maraetai was drowned in the Otaiki (Tamaki River) the place was temporarily made *tapu*. A Ngati Paoa party drew a fishing net and made a catch of *kataha* (herring) while the *tapu* was still in force. Though they were ignorant of the prohibition, the tribe of Ngati Paoa gave to Ngati Tai the land at Waiheke called Te Rore-o-Mahea (near Ostend) in payment. On the occasion of the marriage of Kati, the younger brother of Te Wherowhero, to Matere Toha, the daughter of Rewa of Ngapuhi, the land at Remuera known as Pukapuka (now Lucerne estate) was given by Ngati Whatua, a third tribe, as a present to cement friendly relations between all concerned and to ensure the residence of the married couple in their midst as a further gage of peace. At the time of the conquest of Tumaki by Ngati Whatua a refugee section of Waiohua fled to Waikato, where they were awarded lands by Ngati Tamaoho at Rangiriri for settlement purposes. On these their descendants still live.[1] In general the cession of land to another tribe seems to have been regarded as one of the most valuable of gifts, to be made only on occasions of great significance.

Boundaries

The question of boundary marks is closely connected with that of ownership, since they serve to delimit the area of land over which rights are exercised. In all societies, considerable importance attaches to them, and the Maori is no exception to this rule. The boundaries of lands were minutely known, and natural features as streams, hills, rocks, or prominent trees marked the borders. It has often been remarked that every feature of the landscape was assigned a name by the Maori, a practice which can undoubtedly be correlated with the desire to facilitate the definition of land holdings. Besides the tribal boundaries, which were of the greatest significance, each piece of land owned by a family or an individual was demarcated in similar manner. Sometimes artificial means were used, as a number of flat boulders set on edge and running in a line. Such

[1] S. Percy Smith notes the gift of land by a man to his brother-in-law, whose cultivations were carried away in a great flood. (*Peopling of the North*, 83.)

were known as *paenga*. A hole or pit was sometimes dug to serve as a landmark or boundary indicator and was termed *pokapoka*. Again, a carved post (*pou paenga*) was sometimes set up for this purpose. An ancestral boundary of hills and streams might be termed *waewae kapiti*. Knowledge of boundaries was carefully handed down from one generation to another, often on fishing or snaring trips when the actual objects could be pointed out and the line followed. Fishing grounds in a lake or at sea were often located by taking cross-bearings from two conspicuous objects ashore. The inter-connexion of the different aspects of economic and social life is seen in this matter of land boundary marks, for complete discussion of their significance would involve questions of property, of nomenclature, and of ancestral history. Sufficient hint has been given as to these matters already, however, to spare the reader any further analysis.[1]

Mana and the Land

At one period the question of *mana* over land occupied much of the attention of jurists who wished to unravel the intricacies of the native system of tenure. The term *mana* may have a variety of meanings according to circumstance but generally implies some extra efficiency or virtue with a supernormal tinge. In regard to land it usually denotes the superior power or prestige and intimacy of association which a tribe possesses with regard to its territory as compared with the relation of other tribes to it. The possession of *mana* over the land is correlated with supreme right of ownership, though not with mere occupation. An illustration will make the point more clear than an abstract description. The small but war-like tribe of Ngati Haua had been driven from their proper home on the Waikate River, but in 1830 their chief Te Waharoa heard that certain Waikato tribes were preparing to attack Ngati Maru and Ngati Paoa, the people by whom they had been dispossessed, and regain the land. Now according to Maori custom it would have been very derogatory to the *mana* of Ngati Haua and their chief if

[1] For notes on boundaries, v. J. White, *A.H.M.*, iii, 286; G. F. Angas, *Savage Life*, ii, 25, 30; E. Best, *Canterbury Times*, 15th Feb., 1899; *D.M.B.*, 10, 84; *J.P.S.*, xii, 154, xxvii, 109; *Land of Tara*, 6; *T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 456; W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xii, 91; S Percy Smith, *Taranaki Coast*, 113, 269; *Peopling of North* (*J.P.S.*, vi), 63, 77, 93; *J.P.S.*, xiii, 164, xxx, 174; H. Beattie, *J.P.S.*, xxv, 97; T. W. Downes, *J.P.S.*, xxv, 33, 87; Hare Hongi, *J.P.S.*, xxv, 67; Te Rangi Hiroa, *T.N.Z.I.*, liii, 436–8.

that district were reconquered by other than themselves. For, though, supposing that the Waikato tribes were successful in expelling the invaders, Ngati Haua, being related to them, would certainly be allowed to return to their ancestral possessions, yet they would in such circumstances do so in a position of subordinate prestige. Hence, combining courage with clever politics, they forestalled their allies, and by attacking the enemy first, and themselves procuring his retreat, retained their *mana* over the land.[1] It is a process which is contingent upon keeping the tribal honour untarnished and preserving as far as possible the integrity of the tribal territory. The chief of a tribe was often regarded as manifesting in special fashion the *mana* of the tribe over the land, seeing that he was their representative and head. In a *tangi* (lament) for the chief Tahana Turoa of Whanganui the words occur :

Haere atu, e te mana o te whenua.
Farewell, the embodiment of power over the land.

The native conception of *mana* in connexion with land is thus most nearly akin to the idea of sovereignty. It is in reality very vague, and the attempt made by some Europeans to formulate this use of *mana* as a clear-cut legal concept has not met with success.

[1] Welch, *T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 115.

Chapter XII

THE EXCHANGE OF GIFTS

The Nature of Primitive Economic Values

No analysis of economic organization can be complete without some reference to problems of value. Material from Maori sources is somewhat scarce here, but an attempt must be made to indicate at least the broad outlines of the subject. This will serve at the same time to suggest a number of points for further investigation by field-workers, while involving also the discussion of some general propositions of economic anthropology. In the last resort, every aspect of the economic life, the effort of work, the accumulation of goods and preservation of them, the mechanism of apportionment and exchange, is bound up with a process of valuation. Economic value represents only a specific instance of the general concept, which is, in the widest sense, a subjective appreciation or judgment based upon the functional interrelation between a person and an object of interest.

Certain writers, looking down from the heights of our modern culture, have categorically denied to primitive man any idea of value in his economic affairs. Thus Karl Bücher says of the savage that "such a hand-to-mouth existence cannot be burdened with *conceptions of value*, which always presupposes an act of judgment, an estimation of the future".[1] He justifies this assertion thus: "It is well known how in America and Africa the natives often sold their land to foreign colonists for a gaudy trifle, a few glass beads of no value according to our economic standards; and even to-day the negro, though he stands no longer at the lowest stage, is in many instances ready to give away any piece of his property, no matter how important it may be for his existence, if he is offered some glittering bauble that happens to catch his eye." Here the fallacy is obvious. That *our economic standards* do not reckon glass beads of any value cannot be used as evidence of lack of idea of value in the African mind. Allowance must always be made for the difference

[1] *Industrial Evolution*, 21.

in cultural wants and equipment, and the importance assigned to novelties. Bücher's own standpoint here is precisely similar to that of the despised native, who in his turn dubs the white man a foolish person with no proper appreciation of worth when he spends time, energy, and even life itself in the search for such " gaudy trifles " as gold and pearls, or gives good lands, cattle, or the price of incalculable masses of food for some such " glittering bauble " as a diamond !

The refutation of the latter part of this statement is comparatively simple, since abundant evidence can be adduced to show that the savage is by no means lacking in regard for future circumstances, makes his judgments as to his economic needs, and lays his plans accordingly. But granted that this premise may be set on one side as founded on a misconception, the question as to the existence of value remains. Bücher's dictum lacks clarity, however, since it does not specify whether the savage is to be regarded as devoid of all ideas of valuation of goods, in the wide sense, or only of such a scheme of values as is dealt with by the modern economist—namely, that formed by exchange. To judge from the context, he holds the former view. Our investigation will show the element of truth that lies in such opinions and also the degree to which they are unacceptable.

To approach the subject from the concrete side—it is apparent to one who studies a native people that their life is dependent upon and interlinked with a certain body of material culture—food, houses, clothing, tools, ornaments, articles of religious and magical interest. Such items must be said to be objects of valuation to these people. They are singled out for attention from the rest of the environmental field, there is a patent recognition of their capacity to serve certain ends, a deliberate and persistent striving, within the limits laid down by traditional usage, to procure them for the satisfaction of wants. Moreover, they are not all regarded as being on the same flat level of interest, but are ranked in some order of desirability for consumption (i.e. utilization). Much greater effort is expended in securing one than another, and this implies also a balancing of the worth of the effort against that of the object concerned. In considering flax cloaks, for instance, a Maori will rate the different types in a certain order. As a class, *kaitaka* cloaks with decorative *taniko* borders are prized more highly than *korowai* specimens ornamented with thrums, while these in turn are valued more

than rough tagged rain mantles. Again, the appreciation given to single garments differs. Beauty, fineness of workmanship, utility as covering, and social distinction conferred on the wearer account for the order of preference. Moreover, this is not merely a matter of individual choice, but represents the socially accepted grade of evaluation. Not only is this to be found in everyday affairs, but reference to myth, proverb, or historical narrative shows that the same scheme of comparative estimation is embedded therein. It may be observed that the position of these objects on the scale of desirability is not simply an index of their practical usefulness: a serviceable cloak may rank low in comparison with a tiny ornament, which though rarely worn is the pride of a village, and with which the owners could not be induced to part for a dozen such garments. The worth of the ornament rests upon the sentiment which has become attached to it.

We may now proceed to a further analysis of those factors which give an object its economic importance, which make it desirable in native eyes, and so form a basis for the value it bears. The purely practical element must be, *prima facie*, of immense importance. If primitive man is not a creature of purely rational mind, neither is he guided entirely by impulsive, non-reasoning motives; in his appreciation of food, for example, he has a primary interest in the physical satisfaction it affords him. Apart from this, however, there are other determinants of value, the most important being comprised under æsthetic, social, and traditional influences.

Among the Maori, considerations of æsthetic interest helped quite materially, for example, to decide the relative worth of objects made of the *pounamu*, the nephrite, so much prized for pendants, *mere*, and adzes. Of this material nearly a score of different qualities were recognized by name and distinguished by variations in colour and texture, some being much more appreciated than others. Most prized was the *kahurangi* stone, bright green, translucent, hard and clear [1]; the *inanga* variety perhaps came next, with its white, milky-veined appearance,

[1] Terms for the more prized varieties of greenstone, as *kahurangi* and *tongarewa*, were also used somewhat metaphorically as adjectives to denote any other precious object. The usage is especially common in poetry, where a loved child may be spoken of as "*taku kahurangi*", "my jewel". The order of reference seems to be, *kahurangi*—greenstone—a treasured ornament—any precious thing.

followed by the *kawakawa*, dark olive green, dull and opaque. Of these pendants were made for neck and ear, as well as *mere* and large adze blades. *Tangiwai* ("teardrop"), *bowenite*, a softer stone of a clear pale green, with the appearance of drops of water in the texture, was less esteemed, though more beautiful in European eyes, while the *kahotea*, green, spotted or streaked with black, was of inferior type, and was used for small chisels and other objects of subordinate interest.[1] Other terms were also in use to describe various less important kinds of the stone. Other things being equal, the worth of any particular piece depended on the precise quality of the stone of which it was composed, for rarely was a piece of any type of an even and flawless texture.

The value of weapons and ornaments of *pounamu* was not dependent solely on their beauty of material or artistic workmanship. The objects did not form any definite or recognized insignia of chieftainship with which a man was invested on assuming office, but they served nevertheless to mark distinctions of rank and power. Only a man of some importance in a tribe would possess a fine greenstone pendant, hence the wearing of such an article was a *tohu*, a sign, of his rank. Moreover, certain famed ornaments were the property of well-known families, being held by the leading man in each generation, hence possession of them was practically synonymous with the title to lands and social privileges. Being highly prized and of a very durable nature, articles of *pounamu* were handed down as heirlooms, and in the course of generations became invested with great value from their association with ancestors of note. Sometimes they were laid beside the couch of the dead, sometimes they were buried with the corpse, and retrieved after a space of years, which gave them a peculiar sanctity. This caused them to be regarded as *oha*, treasured keepsakes of the tribe. It was objects of this type which represented the most prominent and attractive forms of wealth in the Maori community. When exchanged, as sometimes happened, they were only handed

[1] The same name apparently applies to different varieties of stone, according to the district. Thus F. R. Chapman on the authority of J. W. Stack states that *kahotea* is a dark green stone with spots of black, and equates it with Shortland's *tuapaka*, an inferior stone of mixed green and black. Williams says it is a variety with light-coloured streaks in it, nearly white, and gives as his reference Chapman (!). *Tuapaka* he describes as a light-coloured stone of inferior kind, "perhaps = *kahotea*." Best says that *kahotea* is extremely hard and was greatly prized for implements (*D.M.B.*, 4, 26).

over for articles of similar kind—never for food or the like—and the transaction was accomplished with great ceremony by process of gift. Their worth, it is clear, rested much more upon the sentiment which had been created around them, due to the effect of traditional associations, than upon their desirability for purposes of ornament or even their æsthetic merits.

This relation of æsthetic and religious interest to economic value is a subject which would well repay more intensive study.[1] An allied problem lies in the conversion of individual to social values—the process by which values created by one person and significant for him become recognized by the community as a whole.

In considering the worth of goods their social significance must clearly be taken into account. The statement that all values are socially created is true, in the sense that it is only through the relations of people in society that economic value can exist, and that the choice of individuals is conditioned at every turn by the social situation. The worth of goods to a native is always contingent upon the wants which he has formed under the moulding influence of his immediate personal and institutional environment.

It has been shown by this analysis that the Maori had quite a definite standard of appreciation of the objects by which he was surrounded in his economic life, and that he had placed them on a certain scale of interest. It is clear, then, that he was well equipped with ideas of value, using the term in its broad sense. It is a question, however, whether this range of estimation of the items of his material culture can be said to constitute a system of economic values. By those writers concerned with the analysis of modern social phenomena, value in its economic aspect is studied largely in terms of exchange. "It is to *value-in-exchange* that reference is usually made in economic discussion when the term value is used without qualification," says Flux.[2] What is the situation, then, in a primitive community? In

[1] The difference in the valuation of an object from different standpoints in modern society is well illustrated by Tchekhov's story of the bronze candelabrum presented by a grateful patient to his doctor. It was a useful piece of bric-a-brac, eminently satisfying from the artistic point of view, but sufficiently unconventional to make it impossible to be retained as the property of a respectable family man. Hence the pragmatic, æsthetic, and moral valuations of the article were each charged with a different significance—thus creating the dilemma of the physician.

[2] Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, 1926; v. also Alfred Marshall, *Principles*, 61.

the absence of an integral and widespread system of exchange to regulate the disposal of things a precise measurement of values is obviously not possible.

So far, from the point of view of the current economic terminology, we have been discussing the *utility* of objects rather than their value, meaning by this not their specific practical usefulness, but their general capacity to satisfy human desire, or to serve any purpose which may be demanded. This comprehensive use of the term utility has long been a commonplace in economic discussion, but it is necessary to give emphasis to it here, since misconception on this score has tended to alienate somewhat from modern economic doctrine anthropologists who have perceived the realities of primitive value. Moreover, the economist himself, though conceding in theory this breadth of motive, is apt in practice to under-estimate the force of the non-reasoning factors involved in the determination of value. Too often the savage is credited, *ex hypothesi*, with being a convenient prototype of a modern business man, guided in his ideas by purely rational considerations. Food is thought to be of interest to him only as it satisfies his hunger, clothing in so far as it covers his nakedness and protects him from the cold, tools to the extent that they assist him to manufacture or procure other useful things. This assumption cannot be endorsed by the study of the reality of native life. Food is accumulated for purposes of display as well as for consumption, and the possession of it is correlated with rank and power, certain types of clothing act as social insignia, as do ornaments, quite apart from their use for enhancement of the person, while the decoration lavished on tools and implements, even at times to the extent of hampering their efficiency, bears witness to the non-practical interest with which they are invested.

The problem now is whether primitive society works on anything more than a scale of comparative utilities, whether this subjective appreciation of goods receives any more objective or externalized expression as a system of true economic values.

The fundamental economic situation in a native community is of apolaustic rather than chrematistic kind, i.e. the values attached to objects turn on the use and enjoyment which they provide rather than on the gain which may be had by disposing of them to other people. But though the value of a thing is not consistently expressed or thought of by the native in terms

of other things, these may be given for it if the occasion arises. Moreover, the economic contacts of work in daily village life initiate comparison of products. In these circumstances one might speak of a *potential exchange value,* since such exchange and comparative appraisal as takes place does tend to set the standard for the situation as a whole.

One might lay down as a proposition from the abstract theoretical point of view, that the less important the institution of exchange in a primitive community, the more closely will the system of economic values tend to approximate or to blend into a scheme of economic utilities; i.e. the less correction can there be of subjective criteria of appreciation by the external standard of measurement. Since, in every community, however primitive, there is always a certain amount of exchange of one form or another, to that extent a system of economic values is always in operation. Moreover, even when goods are not actually brought to the bar of exchange, other institutions such as gift making, tribute, and the transfer of products within the family all make for estimates of relative worth. It cannot be maintained, then, that the native is entirely wanting in the conception of economic values. Here as in other aspects of the study, there is need for a more catholic scientific outlook, which will embrace within its scope the ideas and institutions of primitive man.

To sum up these brief remarks, the absence of any minute system of exchange in primitive economic life prevents the functioning of a finely adjusted system of measurement of values, or to formulate the matter in another way, economic value tends to approach more closely to utility, to the subjective quantum of appreciation. At the same time the conception of value indubitably exists. Moreover, there is a certain comparative estimation of the value of goods, dependent upon exchange and the economic contacts of daily life. In this, apart from ideas of practical usefulness, factors of an æsthetic, social, and traditional nature enter as determinants, making the appreciation of the worth of the objects as much the resultant of association by sentiment, by a complex set of emotional attitudes, as of consideration of rational advantage. In any discussion of primitive economic values it is this latter point rather than the question of the terminology to be employed, which is of fundamental importance.

Transfer of Goods

This inquiry into problems of value has served to some extent to open up our discussion of exchange in Maori life. The examination of this latter subject may be prefaced by a brief review of the various modes in which goods changed hands under the old native regime, which will enable us to study the system of exchange in some kind of perspective. Reference has already been made in another context to the giving of tribute, as also to borrowing and theft, which may therefore be omitted from consideration here. Apart from these processes goods changed hands mainly through confiscation in war, through the custom of *muru* and by way of presents.

The desire of obtaining plunder does not seem to have been the dominant motive which actuated the Maori in his exceedingly numerous raiding parties and tribal wars. Disputes over land—and women—insults to chiefs, or fancied slights on tribal prestige were most common causes of fighting, though raids were sometimes made for the purpose of carrying off some particular object of which the fame had been noised abroad. When a war-party captured a *pa* (fort) they naturally seized all the movable property therein, very often using such of the later owners as had been captured and had for the time been spared the oven, to bear it away. When a man slew another in battle he possessed himself as a rule of those weapons and garments of his victim which he fancied. A number of instances have been recorded where the presentation of a valuable *mere* to an opponent who was about to give the death-stroke has saved the life of the donor.[1] When a lad began his career as a warrior, the garment of the first man he slew was usually given by him to the priest who accompanied the party, as an offering of success to the gods.[2] On the whole, however, it cannot be said that goods obtained by plunder played any large part in the Maori social scheme.

The *muru* is of more importance. This was an institution which provided for the exaction of compensation for offences by the confiscation of property. Not only the offender, but also his immediate kinsfolk suffered, and the amount of property seized and damage done, as well as the circle of persons affected,

[1] Thus it is narrated that one Whengu, about to be slain by an ordinary *patu*, said, "Kill me not with that inferior weapon; here is a better," at the same time offering his own, a fine *mere* of whalebone. This his captor accepted, and spared him (*J.P.S.*, xiii, 164; v. also *J.P.S.*, xii, 162).

[2] Best, *J.P.S.*, xi, 28.

grew according to the magnitude of the offence. Infringement of *tapu*, accidental wounding of oneself or others, or adultery, were all common causes of the *muru* being set in operation. The *taua muru* or plundering party raided the village of the offender, made away with his movable property, ate up all his provisions—which were generally set out in readiness by the people invaded—and in graver cases burned his home and set one of their party to oppose him in a duel. Despite the seeming disorder of the proceedings, often commented on very unfavourably by European observers, and misrepresented as the acme of lawlessness, the institution was regulated by a well defined code of procedure, and was very useful as an instrument of social justice. From the economic point of view it accelerated considerably the circulation of goods in the Maori community, particularly between persons connected by ties of kinship, since it was *tika* (" correct ") only for people who could claim some sort of relationship with the offended party or the offender to take part in one of these *muru* raids. It is interesting to note the correlation of the *muru* with social prestige. Though the loss of wealth by a *muru* party was a severe blow to the person responsible, yet in one sense he welcomed the visitation. It implied that he was a person of consequence in the tribe, whose acts were sufficiently important to be the object of interest to a wide circle of relations. Hence the larger the party seeking compensation for his delict the greater the honour done to him and his near kinsfolk, and inferentially, the higher their social status. It is not suggested, however, that added dignity due to the increase of public attention was in any way commensurate with the loss of property sustained !

Transference of goods was further effected in Maori society under the apparent form of presents, a custom which has frequently been noted by observers under this latter head. But many things in primitive society have been called presents which in reality are acts of exchange. The former implies a free handing over of goods, subject to no stipulations, the latter a transfer with an equivalent given in return. The making of presents undoubtedly existed among the Maori people, as for instance from father to son, but the practice was much rarer than might be supposed. Nearly always some consideration was given in return for a present. This latter type of institution, the transfer of goods as part of a process of exchange, is of considerable interest in our economic analysis, and to the examination of it the remainder of this chapter is devoted.

The Exchange of Gifts

The exchange of gifts is a custom of wide distribution in primitive society, and has received attention from a number of writers. The aim in this study is to discuss its salient features as they occur among the Maori, and then to review the more important of the theoretical observations which have been made upon the institution in general. No very startling conclusions are brought forward, but in the final section I have tried to draw attention to a view of the gift-exchange which seems to give a clearer understanding of certain of its fundamental aspects.

At intervals through this book it has been emphasized that to understand the real meaning of a custom or institution it must be studied in relation to the social fabric into which it is woven. Such is particularly imperative in the case of the gift-exchange, and it is the failure to appreciate this point which has led to the formulation of several one-sided and unsatisfactory theories which purport to explain it.

One may distinguish broadly two types of gift-exchange among the Maori—the economic, in which the primary object is to acquire something of practical utility from the other party, and the ceremonial, in which the transaction fulfils some wider social purpose, the acquisition of goods not being the principal motive. A typical example of the former is the ordinary exchange of food products, of the latter, the exchange of greenstone heirlooms between representatives of related tribes at a *tangi* (funeral gathering). In the latter case the transaction is not independent, but lies within a wider circle of events and helps to clinch the ties of social unity. This distinction is of a rough-and-ready kind, for every affair of the first type involves elements that are not purely economic, while the ceremonial exchange of gifts has at times a distinctly economic tinge. At the same time the separation is convenient, as it allows attention to be more easily directed to the salient features of the institution as a whole. From our point of view the economic exchange is the more important and will therefore receive chief consideration here.

Intra-Communal Exchange.

In former times there was little exchange of goods between the members of the same village, and, as mentioned in an earlier

chapter, with this was correlated the absence of any intricate division of labour. Specialist workers were few, and the wide scope of an average man's economic activities obviated the necessity for any continuous interchange of products between those engaged in the various crafts. As a rule the product of communal labour was utilized by the family group, as a canoe, or if it were a catch of fish or birds, was apportioned among the workers and their dependents by a system of shares.

Certain crafts, however, had their specialists, and here one finds a certain amount of exchange. The expert in making stone adzes parted with one to a neighbour in return for a cloak or a present of food, the carver and tattooer exercised their arts to satisfy others—for a consideration—while the priestly *tohunga* had his fee for curing sickness or performing economic magic. These latter instances, however, were exchange of goods against services. Of the same kind were such payments as were sometimes made in order to obtain the loan of a measuring rod of a man of rank to be used in laying out the foundation plan of a house.[1] The exchange of goods against goods within the native village, except in spasmodic cases of individual whim, was exceedingly rare. Thus the native economic system was devoid of any finely adjusted scale of values.

Extra-Communal Exchange.

Transactions of this type between people of different communities were fairly common, and several causes promoted this state of affairs.

One form of exchange arose through the differences in the economic resources of the various tribes. Food-stuffs were the chief commodity which changed hands. Thus the people on the sea coast exchanged fish with the inland people, who responded with preserved birds, rats, and various kinds of forest products. Cakes made from the meal of the *hinau* berry, the feathers and skins of birds, for ornament, and *kokowai*, red ochre, also went down to the coast, while shell-fish, shark-oil, *karengo* (an edible seaweed), *paua* shells, and the berries of the *karaka*, a coastal tree, were utilized as subsidiary articles of "export" by the sea-coast tribes.

Colenso states that he has known baskets of the dried seaweed to be carried to Taupo and elsewhere inland on the backs

[1] Best, *J.Sc.T.*, 1918, 31.

of natives, as a suitable present in return for the delicacies of the interior forest.[1] Fern-root was also an article of presentation, and Colenso notes again that at Pakowhia the tribe of the chief Karaitiana had three baskets of this food, of superior quality, each root being 12–15 inches long and about 3 inches in circumference, sent them as a present from a place some twenty miles inland from Te Wairoa.[2]

Calabashes (*taha*) of preserved birds were frequently sent as gifts in olden days, and the custom still persisted even in recent times. In 1874, after the conclusion of fighting with the Urewera natives, Paerau and Kereru te Pukenui, two of the leading chiefs, gave the representatives of the Government ten large *taha*, some of them carved and ornamented, and said to contain about 1,800 preserved birds. Te Kereru made a speech on that occasion in which he said that he had been blamed by his tribe for taking money from the Government, and that the *taha* were for his fault, that is to repay the obligation he was under to the Government.[3] Brunner mentions in 1847 that great taste was shown by the natives of the Teremakau river in preparing *poha*, bags of preserved *weka*. Leaves of *raupo* were very neatly tied round the container, which was then placed on three legs and mounted with a handsomely woven crown, made of the feathers of the birds enclosed. He believed that such decorative vessels were always made for presentation, for which the natives expected a return. "The one I saw contained one hundred birds, and was given by Tipia to Ewi, being a present in return for one of *moka* or dogfish." Tipia and his party, on presenting the *poha*, were liberally fed by the recipients with potatoes, *taro*, and various kinds of fish. Brunner also acutely observes "the natives appear particularly fond of giving and receiving presents, and I think the first donor gets off the best".[4] In the Whanganui district preserved *kaka* parrots, esteemed as a great delicacy, formed one of the staples of exchange with other tribes, who sent dried fish, etc., in return.[5]

The Southern Maori likewise did not rest content with the somewhat meagre products of their own territory. One old

[1] *T.N.Z.I.*, xiii, 29. He adds: "like the *karaka* kernels" which is surely a *lapsus calami*, as the *karaka* is generally a coast-growing tree.
[2] *T.N.Z.I.*, xiii, 20.
[3] *N.Z. Parliamentary Papers*, G.Ia. 2, 1874; cf. *A.H.M.*, iii, 274.
[4] *Journal of Expedition*, 1847, 8.
[5] E. Shortland, *Trad. and Sup.*, 214; W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 17.

man stated to a collector of ethnographical data that by the system of *kaihaukai* ("reciprocal gifts" is probably meant) they could exchange *titi* (petrels) and other things for *kumara* from Canterbury, and could even get *taro* and *hue* from the North Island.[1] Stack records that the large village of Kaiapohia (or Kaiapoi) in Canterbury stood at a distance from its permanent sources of food supply, and all provisions had to be carried to the spot. In order to provide themselves with the means of exchange for the commodities of which they stood in need the inhabitants of the place devoted much of their time to the cultivation of the *kumara*, and to the preparation of *kauru* or *Cordyline* stems, which they "bartered" with the dwellers in other districts for the goods required. According to Stack a regular system of trade was in operation along these lines, and was said to have been established by Tu Rakautahi, who founded the *pa* about the year 1700. A large body of porters was continually occupied in carrying the heavy loads, ranging up to 100 lb., between the various settlements along the coast, and the practice of transporting large quantities at the one time necessitated a series of depôts between which the carriers travelled, moving the supplies piecemeal stage by stage. When a band of porters were returning home and had reached the last stage of their journey they sent forward one of their number to announce their arrival to the person to whom the goods were consigned. This man gathered a number of friends and relatives and went to meet the porters. Taking up the extra loads, the whole party started back for the village, where their entry was greeted with loud rejoicings. It is also mentioned that a sort of stool was attached to the lower end of each load to enable the bearer to rest at any time without disengaging himself from it.[2] It is doubtful, however, whether such a definite and well-established system of exchange was ever really in operation, and Stack's account, which appears to have magnified the proceedings, rests unconfirmed. But though one may be sceptical about the existence of regular porters and depôts—perhaps also of the rest-stool—it is clear that some method of exchange of products was widely practised by the South Island tribes.

Certain localities were noted for the production of special

[1] H. Beattie, *T.N.Z.I.*, lii, 67; cf. *H.M.A.*, 256, for an illustration of the manner in which such birds were packed for transport when given as presents.
[2] J. W. Stack, *Kaiapoi*, 183–6.

kinds of food. Thus by the people of Rotorua and the other inland lakes of the North, the *inanga* (whitebait) and *koura* (crayfish) were preserved in large quantities ; they were sent to the dwellers in other districts by way of presents or exchange, and were greatly appreciated. The *inanga*, after drying, were packed in baskets lined and covered with fern leaves, while the *koura* were preserved and stored in long strings. These strings were likewise packed in baskets, eight baskets being termed a *rohe*, the volume of which was practically equivalent to that of a modern sack.[1] The marine crayfish, caught among the rocks on the coast, was also dried and exchanged with inland tribes, who gave potted forest birds in return.[2] The people of Waikato and the Whanganui River made use of the eels which they secured in large numbers at certain seasons of the year to obtain food products from other tribes.

The scarcer ornaments also were obtained by some tribes through the agency of exchange. The plumes of the *huia*, black tail feathers, white tipped, which were greatly prized, and were worn only by men of rank, were obtained from a fairly limited district, comprising the main part of the central range which forms the back-bone of the North Island, and from there were circulated throughout the country. The tubular white shells of the *Dentalium*, which was one of the minor articles of exchange, were strung together by the natives from the west coast of the Auckland Peninsula, and passed to inland tribes, by whom they were worn as necklaces and bracelets.[3] At Mataatua in 1924, the writer saw a *pupu* (*Septa tritonis*) shell, which was used to blow the call to meals and which had been obtained many years ago from Moehau in exchange for several pigs.

Stone for implements was a very necessary article to the Maori of olden days, and he would go to great trouble to procure suitable kinds, supplies being often obtained from another tribe by sending gifts in exchange. Smooth, round stones to be used in the *haangi* (earth ovens) for cooking were in great demand, and a good set of them was of distinct value. These, too, were sometimes obtained by reciprocal gifts.

Obsidian or volcanic glass (*mata-tuhua*) was used a great

[1] P. H. Buck, *T.N.Z.I.*, liii, 451.
[2] Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxiv, 463 ; ibid., xiii, 42.
[3] Hamilton, *M.A.*, 307.

deal for minor cutting operations, delicate carving and the scraping of woodwork, and was a favourite object of exchange, pieces of it finding their way all over the country. The main source of supply was the East Coast of the North Island, but Best records it as having been in use at Paekakariki on the Wellington Coast, the writer has found it in burial caves on the Manukau and elsewhere west of Auckland, while according to Hamilton, blocks of it penetrated even to Stewart Island. Cores of this substance were often carried by travellers, who could then flake off a piece as a cutting implement when needed. A fine globular core of this nature was found on Otago Peninsula near Dunedin, and must have been brought, according to Best, from the Rotorua or Bay of Plenty region, distant about 600 miles. It has been also recorded from many other diverse localities far from the original source of supply. F. E. Maning, speaking of the Northern tribes, states that every family which could afford it had a large block of obsidian lying by in the house or concealed near at hand, and that such were brought from the island of Tuhua in the Bay of Plenty, by Ngapuhi when returning from their southern expeditions. It is probable that this latter applies only to fairly recent times.[1]

The most striking object of inter-tribal exchange is the *pounamu* (greenstone), which, with the exception of *tangiwai* (bowenite), occurs *in situ* only in one small district of the West Coast of the South Island. Yet the earliest voyagers to New Zealand found the greenstone in evidence even at the far North, up to six or seven hundred miles from its base.[2] The *pounamu* was highly prized, both from its hardness for cutting tools and from its beautiful appearance when used for ornaments, and was obtained from the South in both the worked and unworked condition. It was procured to some extent by making expeditions to the source of supply, and partly by exchange from tribe to tribe. On these expeditions it was gained as a rule by exchanging other products, as *kumara, taro,* and fern-root, or other food delicacies which the people of that region could

[1] Maning, *T.N.Z.I.*, viii, 103. For evidence as to the comparatively late date of the warlike visits of Northern tribes to the South, v. S. Percy Smith, *Taranaki Coast*, 271–2. For notes on obsidian, v. Hamilton, *M.A.*, 196; Best, *J.Sc.T.* 1918, 217; *Stone Implements of Maori* (*D.M.B.* 4), 45. Carl Rau (*A.f.A.*, v, 1–43) gives examples of the wide dispersion and exchange of obsidian in North America.

[2] Testimony as to the diffusion of "serpentine" is given for example by J. J. Labillardière (*Relation du Voyage*, 1808, tom. ii, 85).

not obtain for themselves, while fine mats and garments were often given for the larger pieces of good quality. In the account of the journey of Brunner and Heaphy down the west coast of the South Island in 1846, it was found on the Teremakau River that the inmates of each house were busily engaged in working *mere* (weapons) andear pendants of green stone for presentation to the Northern people.[1]

Another form of exchange depended not so much on differential natural resources as on the variations of technical skill displayed by certain tribes. Thus when the people of one district were especially expert in making garments, these were in demand by neighbouring tribes, who made gifts of their own specialized products or valued food-stuffs, to secure them. The people of Kawhia, for example, are recorded to have obtained *huahua* (potted birds) from the Arawa people in return for the fine garments which they wove.[2] The exchange of mats and valuables for *kumara* bulbs, of garments for fish, and in the early years of last century, of canoes for European goods, is also recorded. Transactions of this last type were effected between the Urewera and the Ngatiawa tribes, the latter of whom dwelt in regions which did not afford forest trees suitable for canoe hulls. Early observers give a description of the manner of exchange of some feathers for a garment, between two natives. The feathers were those of the gannet, much favoured for ornament, each neatly dressed, with a stick of wood in the quill to enable it to be inserted in the hair. According to Nicholas, these were prepared exclusively in the Bay of Islands. After displaying his wares with great acumen the owner of them secured a fine garment from a young lady of rank in exchange for twelve feathers and a tuft of down for the ear.[3] Angas notes that during his stay at Paripari in the Mokau district a party of natives arrived from Poverty Bay on the other side of the Island, upon a visit to the chief Taonui, bringing with them presents for him and his family, as was usual on such occasions. These consisted chiefly of fine garments, for the manufacture of which the people of Poverty Bay and the East Cape region were celebrated through-

[1] *Te Karere Maori*, No. 20, 1849.
[2] Geo. Graham, *J.P.S.*, xxvi, 139; as related by the wife of Noka Hukanui.
[3] J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative*, i, 398–9; S. Marsden in McNab's *Hist. Records of N.Z.*, 375–6; v. also John White, *A.H.M.*, iii, 148, 229; Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, 161; Best, *Tuhoe*, 393, 555.

out the island.[1] According to Polack, the natives of the East Cape were noted for their skill in the various fine arts, and those of Hawke's Bay for their ingenuity in making large canoes, while the intermediate tribes were "traders" between either party.[2] A traditional account of the Aotea canoe given by Hetaraka Tautahi, tells how Rongorongo, wife of Turi the captain, gave to her father a valuable dog-skin cloak called Potaka-tawhiti, as a present in return for the gift of the vessel. This is said to have been an *utu-matua* (*Ka hoatu ki te matua, ara, he utu-matua*).[3]

From consideration of these accumulated data and examples one may pick out the two salient types of exchange which characterized the former Maori economy—the exhange of coastal for inland products, food being the staple article concerned; and the movement of greenstone to the North in return for food-stuffs, cloaks and other objects of fine workmanship.

Greenstone in any form was a peculiarly mobile object, the demand for it being always very keen. In fact, it was so much used in exchange that it is sometimes said by Europeans, and by modern natives imbued with our cultural ideas, that greenstone was the *money* of the Maori. This is quite incorrect. The stone was at no time a common measure of values, nor did it even act as a medium of exchange to facilitate transactions in other articles. It was simply the most prominent substance concerned in the reciprocal exchange of gifts, a fact which does not entitle it to be vaguely equated with anything really performing the functions of money.[4]

The Mechanism of Exchange

Occasion for these reciprocal presentations was provided by the travels of chiefs, who, on visiting the village of a stranger tribe, were freely entertained by the leading man of rank there. As part of the hospitality gifts were made to them, often of a choice kind, and these were returned either on the spot, or at some subsequent date, when the position of host and guest might be

[1] Angas, *N.Z.*, Pl. 33.
[2] Polack, *N.Z.*, i, 257; *Manners and Customs*, i, 227–8.
[3] *J.P.S.*, ix, 217.
[4] For discussion on the use and abuse of the terms "primitive currency", etc., v. B. Malinowski, *Econ. Journal*, 1921; ibid., *Argonauts*, 176–91, 509–16; W. E. Armstrong, *Econ. Journal*, 1924; also section on "Economic Life" by W. E. Armstrong and the present writer, in the forthcoming edition of *Notes and Queries in Anthropology*. Argument for wider use of the term "money" in this connexion is advanced by M. Mauss, "Essai sur le Don," *L'Année Sociologique*, N.S., tom. i; 1923–4.

reversed. At times a definite expedition was undertaken by a party under the leadership of some person of rank, bearing with them food products or manufactured goods as presents to the people of a distant village, who would return the compliment after due hospitality by loading their visitors with gifts for their return. On the whole, however, exchange in olden Maori times was spasmodic rather than regular, and was not generally the primary object of travel.

After considering the type of goods involved in exchange it is necessary to examine the mechanism by which it was effected, since it is only through this that one can understand the rôle of the institution in native life. The central point to be recognized is that every exchange was made after the manner of *gift and counter-gift.* These transactions are often loosely described as barter, but this is a misapplication of the term. Barter essentially implies some agreement as to the rates of exchange, a practice quite foreign to the Maori mode of conducting matters. No stipulation was made by the donor as to the amount of the commodity which must be given in exchange, and no bargaining or haggling of any kind took place. Such would not be *tika* ("correct"), to all appearances the affair was one of gift for gift. The theoretical distinction involved is made quite clear by Mr. Elsdon Best.[1] After mentioning that a certain amount of bartering was always carried on between different tribes, he adds, "Barter, however, is scarcely the right expression; it seems to imply a certain amount of arrangement as to values and so on. The Maori seems to have had an objection to making a definite bargain. The usual plan was to make a present and by some means convey a hint of what was desired in return. But no article had a recognized and set value, neither would the old-time Maori bargain in such affairs. That is assuredly a fact." William Colenso, a reliable observer in the early years of last century, notes that buying and selling for a price was unknown to the Maori. Sometimes people would try to exchange one thing directly for another, more particularly with visiting strangers, but such was a very unusual occurrence. "Things were never made for sale among them."[2] On the other hand, to regard such affairs simply as a matter of giving and receiving presents is inadequate

[1] In a private letter.
[2] Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 17; ibid., xi, 80.

from the standpoint of sociological reality, since it fails to take account of the reciprocal obligations incurred.

A definite technique of presentation was observed, especially in the more formal transactions, but of this unfortunately very little has been recorded. The gifts if not bulky were laid at the feet of the other party with some such expression as " this is for you ", while for articles of importance etiquette prescribed certain rules of arrangement. Dress cloaks were laid on the ground, outspread, with the collar end facing the recipient, weapons with the haft towards his hand. No great expression of thanks was made, and it seemed in fact as if the gift were almost ignored. Nevertheless a very keen note was taken of it, and real appreciation does not seem to have been lacking.

The apparent absence of emotion on such occasions has led a number of writers to charge the Maori with being deficient in those softer feelings which are so dear to the moralist who discourses on savage tribes. Even as recently as 1909 it is stated, " The Maori language contains no equivalent for 'gratitude', that quality being unknown to him. You give, he returns, not through gratitude, but barter." [1] The last sentence may be accepted provisionally, but the lamentable weakness of the first statement is easily perceived. The absence of a vocabulary equivalent for the English word is poor evidence that the native is a stranger to gratitude or any other kindred emotions. As a matter of fact the Maori is perfectly capable of expressing his thanks and grateful feeling by little grunts and wordless sounds of pleasure, by short phrases of approval, as " *e pai ana* " (it is good) and the like. Convention forbade any extravagant expressions of thanks, but this does not argue the absence of the corresponding emotions. To appreciate native psychology one must be prepared to delve beneath the crust of social decorum and mere dictionary linguistics and correlate the speech of the native with his behaviour in everyday affairs.

The process of exchange by gifts with an absence of bargaining raises two questions, the elucidation of which will do much to make clear the central motive forces of the institution. What determined the nature of the return gift, and what determined its quantity or value ? When we proceed to a further analysis

[1] Mabel Holmes, " Social Position of the Maoris," *Contemporary Review*, vol. 96, 615.

of the situation we find that for both of these aspects there was a definite mechanism of regulation. Beneath the surface spontaneity and liberality worked a set of forces which impelled people to act in the prescribed way, and ensured that every man received approximately his due.

In the matter of the article given in return, convenience was secured and inappropriate gifts avoided by a tacit understanding between the two parties as to the goods which would be most acceptable. Very commonly some kind of hint was dropped as to the object expected or desired, a frequent method being to praise it in a significant manner. Thus to admire something belonging to another person usually meant that it was immediately presented to the person who praised it. The effectiveness of this in procuring the article desired is illustrated by a story given by John White of a noted gourmand of traditional days, Te Reinga of Kaitaia. He was of such greedy disposition that when anyone was passing up or down the valley with fish or other products he always hailed him, saying, " I am very fond of that food." This was equivalent to a direct request for it, so of course the food was handed over to him. So tiresome became this practice that at length the people of the district, to end his begging, sent a war party against him and slew him.[1] One is almost entitled to conclude from this that in old Maori days true politeness demanded that one should slay a man sooner than hurt his feelings by refusing him a request.

Early European visitors who were intimate with natives found the consequences of unthinking admiration of their property somewhat inconvenient, such articles being as often as not incontinently pressed upon them—with the proviso understood that a return gift of suitable munificence would be made.[2]

In many cases, however, each party to the transaction knew what the other wished, and gave accordingly. Thus dwellers on the sea-coast naturally presented fish and similar products to inland tribes, while the people of Westland gave greenstone to their visitors from the North. Sometimes the initiative was taken by a person asking for a thing which he fancied or actually required. Thus Mr. Geo. Graham writes to me that when Taupari of Hauraki married a daughter of Apanui of Whakatane he asked his father-in-law for a carved house

[1] MS. quoted by S. Percy Smith, " Peopling of North," 44, *J.P.S.*, vi.
[2] E.g., see E. Shortland, *Trad. and Sup.*, 214 et seq.

" Matatua " then in process of being built. His wish was acceded to, and though that actual house was given to the Government, another named " Hotunui " was carved for him (v. Chapter VIII). He adds, " presents of this class were always given without refusal or apparent disinclination. To refuse or give unwillingly was an act belittling the asker as well as tending to the disrepute of the owner. Such refusal led to subsequent ill-will, and even warfare in olden days." As a matter of fact, also, any objection to parting with an article requested or admired was softened by the knowledge that it would be later repaid, probably in more generous measure.

Utu, the Principle of Reciprocity

Quite a number of factors helped to determine the quantity and value of goods given in return for a present. This depended upon the immediate resources of the original recipient, now the donor, but always he tried to postpone his countergift until he had accumulated a satisfactory amount of goods. The general principle of Maori exchange was that for *every gift another of at least equal value should be returned*. This was the principle of *utu* or compensation which pervaded the whole of Maori life. The word is often translated as meaning " payment ", but its significance is broader than that. The root idea is that of " compensation " in the wide sense, of obtaining an equivalent.

The concept of *utu* is not restricted merely to economic affairs, but is found in varying social context as one of the fundamental drives to action. If a man were slain by a member of another tribe the life of the offender or one of his relatives was demanded as *utu*. In the rare cases where blood vengeance was not considered feasible curious customs were resorted to as a means of " equalizing " the death. The spinning of tops, the swinging from *moari* or giant-strides, the rocking of a canoe towards the enemy's home, each to the accompaniment of an incisive chant, have all been recorded as modes of gaining *utu* on such occasions. The repressed emotions of grief and anger seem to have found in this expenditure of physical energy an outlet which gave relief. When a person dies in bed—and not from witchcraft—there is no cause of offence against others. But the idea of gaining *utu* still persists, and wailing for the deceased is held to be in some measure a compensation for

his death. "By tears and *hupe* only [1] is a natural death avenged," says the Maori. The idea of obtaining *utu* was the fundamental incentive in the institution of *muru*, or compensatory plunder, referred to earlier in this chapter, accident or an infringement of marital rights being the most common occasions of such procedure. For insult, for crime, for death, for instruction in sacred lore, *utu* of one kind or another had to be obtained.[2]

In the economic sphere the idea of equivalence was just as compelling. The tattooer, who was a specialist of some importance, expected to be well paid for his services. This is indicated in a little song which the operator often crooned while he was carrying out his work, tapping away at the chisel while the head of his subject lay on his knees. The ostensible purpose of such songs was to distract the patient and alleviate the pain as the chisel cut through the skin into the flesh, but the example given below seems also to have been used as a gentle reminder that the artist expected his fee.

He tangata i te whakautu,
Kia ta whakanakonako ;
He tangata whakautu kore,
Kumekumea kia tatahi,

which has been translated by Dr. Buck :

Let the lines be true and straight
On the man who is rich and great.
Make them crooked, coarse and splay
On the man who does not pay.[3]

This song is said to have had a soothing effect upon the patient !

As in the case of services, so with gifts—an equivalent return must always be made. If a present had been made in consequence

[1] *Hupe* = discharge from the nose, a sight by no means rare at *tangi* (mourning) ceremonies. Even nowadays the use of a handkerchief during these displays of grief is apt to be deemed disrespectful to the corpse. A variant of the above proverb runs "By tears and *hupe* only may the strokes of misfortune be avenged" (*Ko roimata, ko hupe, anake nga kai utu i nga patu a aitua*). Best, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxiv, 57; ibid., xxxviii, 168.

[2] For various aspects of *utu* in Maori sociology, see W. E. Gudgeon, "The Maori People," *J.P.S.*, xiii, 242 et seq. Best, "Maori Medical Lore," *J.P.S.*, xiii, 214. Ibid., *The Maori*, ii, 29, 90, 106, 126 ; ibid., *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxiv, 57, 62–3 ; xxxvi, 53, 65 ; xxxviii, 168, 173–4 (swinging on giant-strides, spinning of tops) ; Wakefield, *Adventure in N.Z.*, 424 ; John White, *Te Rou*, 144 ; E. Shortland, *Trad. and Sup.*, 236, 240, 281, 296 ; v. also *J.P.S.*, vii, 55–9, 61 ; viii, 107 ; ix, 138. A fragment of a song collected by Sir Geo. Grey runs :—

"*Kati, te roimata,*
Te utu, kei aku kamo"

(*Moteatea* 30), referring to tears as *utu* for loss.

[3] R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 322, for the original.

of a request, then the donor would come in his turn some day and ask for some valued article, which on no account would be refused. Again Mr. Graham supplies an example: Tukukino of Ngati Tamatera was visited at Paeroa by Totara-i-ahua of Ngati-Whatua. Totara asked for and was given a *pou-tangata* (greenstone adze) set in a carved handle. Later Tukukino came to Kaipara to ask for a musket, which was given to him in compliance with his wish. When Tukukino died a party of Ngati Whatua went to the *tangi* (mourning ceremonies) over his bones at Komata (Thames River), but did not return the *pou-tangata* because it had already been compensated for by the return gift. "'*Kua ea noatu i tetehi tuku whakautu,*' as old Hone Ngatara put it." When the actual owner of the gun, Te Waewae, died, the family of Totara gave the *pou-tangata* to the former's son, who in 1900 still owned it.

In exchanges of a more ceremonial kind, the same principle of *utu* or equivalence was seen, a definite obligation being incurred to repay any gift of weapons, cloaks or ornaments received. Occasions of great social importance, such as the celebration of peace, the naming of a child of high rank, the marriage of persons of good birth, or the death of a chief were often marked by ceremonial gifts or exchange of property. In the well-known story of Ponga and Puhihuia as given by John White, a reference is made to the ancient custom of exchanging heirlooms such as greenstone *mere* between chiefs of rank as a ratification of peace (*He mea koa aua mere nei he manatunga, a he tika ki nga ritenga o mua kia hokohokoa aua tu mere nei e aua tangata*). This is also illustrated by the adventures of "Hine-nui-o-te-paua", a *mere* given by the Kawerau tribe about eight generations ago to Ngati-Paoa as a token of peace—*he koha*. The same *mere* was afterwards given by Ngati-Paoa to Ngapuhi at Mauinaina to try and secure peace; it was held by the latter tribe for a number of years and was afterwards returned to Ngati-Paoa at the time of the great feast at Kohimarama. Afterwards this tribe presented it to Governor Grey as a token of their desire to keep peace with the white man. "It was shown to us by Governor Grey at Te Kawau, when we wept over it—such is the affection of the Maori for ancient heirlooms." The wanderings of this weapon are an instance of the way in which valued pieces of property passed from tribe to tribe and were returned after a lapse of years to their former owners. The

A. *HEITIKI*

Such greenstone neck ornaments were valued heirlooms and were exchanged on important social occasions as marriages or funeral ceremonies or to cement peace between tribes. (Auckland Museum Collection.)

B. A CHIEF'S TREASURE

Mere pounamu, a weapon of greenstone which served also as one of the insignia of rank. (Auckland Museum Collection.)

[*face p.* 408

narrative also bears witness to the sentiment attaching to such articles.[1]

Such ceremonial gifts are frequently spoken of as " presents ", but it should be made clear that this represents only one side of the transaction, and that an equivalent, generally of a material kind, is expected and given. The recognition of this with regard to the Maori has been considerably assisted by Mr. Geo. Graham, who in a very interesting memorandum sent in response to some queries of mine, remarks on this principle of reciprocity. He observes, " When a person dies some of the relatives at a distance come to *kawe nga mate*, bring their affliction. On such occasions the bereaved are the recipients of *taonga* (valued heirlooms) such as garments, greenstone articles, etc. At a subsequent time, on a death occurring among the people of the donors, the process is reversed, and the *taonga* are returned. Hence during a period of generations, heirlooms pass many times between related people. To keep the same indefinitely is a grave mark of disrespect to ancient custom, and disrespect to the relatives, leading to ill-will in many ways." Such valued heirlooms were termed *roimata*, tears, a name which indicates the poetical turn of the Maori mind. Mr. Graham records that one specimen, a neck-pendant made from a whale's tooth, was originally the property of a chief of the Arawa of the lakes, passed from him to his relatives on the coast with other heirlooms as *roimata* on the occasion of a death there, was retained by those people for six generations, and was recently presented back to a woman of the former people as *roimata* on the death of her father.[2]

The value of such heirlooms in the eyes of the natives was, and still is, very great. Their whereabouts, the circumstances of their transference, and the obligations still outstanding from them are kept in mind by the old people of the tribe, and the information about them is handed down from one generation to the next. These objects have a certain utilitarian value, i.e., they are always in the form of an ornament which is worn, or a weapon which is used in fighting. But it is by no means for their practical use alone, for their pure economic utility, that they are so ardently desired, and exchanged with so much

[1] For instances v. John White, *A.H.M.*, iv, 132; C. O. Davis, *Kawiti*, 4, 6; A. Shand, *J.P.S.*, vi, 144; E. Best, *J.P.S.*, xxvii, 16; *T.N.Z.I.*, xxxvi, 48; *D.M.B.* No. 10, 143, 228; Geo. Graham, *J.P.S.*, xxvii, 87–8; also *J.P.S.*, ix, 82; xiii, 162.

[2] Graham, *J.P.S.*, xxxii, 1923, 29.

ceremony. That there is no appreciable gain of this kind in view is proved by the fact that often the exchange is made for objects of precisely the same type, and of quality perhaps inferior. It is because of their traditional associations, because of the whole sentiment attached to them that the exchange arouses so much interest. Such articles form the most notable objects of wealth of any community, and their value is derived from their ancestral and historical connexions, their symbolic position, more than from any intrinsic worth of material and finish which they may happen to display.

These ceremonial exchanges were of great importance to the community life of the Maori. The gifts and counter-gifts served to bind together more closely the different families or tribes concerned ; the articles themselves acted as the *tohu*, the tokens or material symbols of the social ties which linked together the two groups.

The psychological attitude which lies at the back of a custom or institution is often well revealed by a native legend, story or popular saying. The principle of *utu*, reciprocity, may be studied in Maori folklore as well as in everyday behaviour. From this former domain we may cull the old proverb, " The wandering legs of Tokoahu, which were here, there and everywhere." As is often the case with native sayings, it is necessary to know the tale upon which it hinges. In former days there lived a man named Tokoahu, who did little work, but occupied himself in going from place to place visiting his friends and obtaining presents from them. For these he gave no return. This practice continued for so long that his friends grew tired, waiting, waiting, waiting for the repayment, which was never forthcoming. One man at length cried out, " My property has been as good as stolen by that fellow," and becoming exasperated past all endurance, laid a curse upon Tokoahu, through the medium of the property he had taken, so that he died. Hence the saying is used as quoted above, presumably as a warning to refer to a person who takes presents from others but does not feel it incumbent upon him to make an equivalent return for them.[1] The story is in its way an epitome of the fundamental attitude which regulates the exchange of gifts in native society, that anything which is given must be repaid.

[1] Grey, *Whakapepeha*, 113.

The Sanction for Repayment of a Gift

The sanction which impelled a person to pursue this line of conduct was threefold—first, the anxiety lest he should lose all chance of exchange in the future and thereby be deprived of valuable economic benefits, then the fear lest his reputation should suffer by report of his failure to meet his obligations, a serious matter in a Maori community, and lastly the fear of witchcraft. The reality of the correlation between liberal use of wealth and maintenace of social prestige has already been made sufficiently plain ; all that need be said here is to point out that of the double stimulus to reciprocate a gift, this was probably the more imminent and powerful. The fear of witchcraft was vague and problematical, and it could perhaps be warded off by proper precautions, but the loss of reputation was an immediate blow and could not be averted even by magical means.

The supernatural punishment for the man who accepted presents without making a return for them was accomplished through the medium of the *hau* or vital essence of the goods. The nature of this concept has already been discussed in a previous chapter (v. Chapter VII, Appendix : *Mauri* and *Hau*), but its relation to the exchange of gifts and the theory of obligation needs some further comment. Some interesting remarks made by Tamati Ranapiri in a text preserved by Elsdon Best illustrate the native point of view. " Suppose that you possess a certain article and you give the article to me without price. We make no bargain over it. Now I give that article to a third person, who after some time has elapsed decides to make some return for it, and so he makes me a present of some article. Now that article that he gives to me is the *hau* of the article I first received from you and then gave to him. The goods that I received for that item I must hand over to you. It would not be right to keep such goods for myself, whether they be desirable items or otherwise. I must hand them over to you, because they are a *hau* of the article you gave me. Were I to keep such equivalent for myself, then some serious evil would befall me, even death." [1] To the native mind, then, the article obtained in the latter exchange represents the essence of the first gift, still unrepaid ;

[1] " Maori Forest Lore," *T.N.Z.I.*, xlii, 441 (Best's translation, 439) ; cf. also W. E. Gudgeon, " If a man received a present and passed it on to some third person then there is no impropriety in such an act ; but if a return present be made by this third party then it must be passed on to the original grantor or it is a *hau ngaro* (consumed *hau*)." *J.P.S.*, xiv, 128.

in accordance with what is *tika* (etiquette) and to avoid evil consequences it must be handed on to the original donor.

M. Marcel Mauss, in his valuable analysis of the gift and kindred phenomena, takes this Maori idea of the *hau* as providing one of the fundamental clues to the whole principle of reciprocity. According to him, between giver and recipient in a presentation is a bond of souls (*un lien d'âmes*), creating also a bond of obligation. The retention of the gift without repayment would be dangerous, not only as being illicit, but also because it would give the donor magical power over him who retains it. Affirming that his theory is based largely on the text of Tamati Ranapiri, Mauss puts forward the opinion that it is the belief in the *hau* of the gift, its immaterial essence, and hence part of that of the giver, striving to get back to its source, and working injury on the recipient if he does not provide it with a vehicle of return, that impels the native to repay one gift by another. "What in the present received or exchanged, constrains one (to repay) is that the thing received is not inert. Even surrendered by the donor it is still something of his." The article is animated by the spiritual essence of its former owner, in conjunction with that of the forest and the soil from which it has sprung, and this spiritual element, eager to return, wreaks vengeance on every person who detains it. Such is the basis of the idea of obligation.[1] The importance which Mauss assigns to the Maori evidence as a contribution to the general theory justifies my somewhat detailed analysis of his treatment of it.

The interpretation is a skilful one, of great interest to the study of the gift exchange in that in common with the remainder of the essay it draws attention to the irrational background of belief against which the institution works.

Several points of criticism, however, might be advanced by a Maori scholar. In the first place Mauss appears to have misinterpreted the Maori concept of the *hau* by ascribing to this "vital essence" qualities with which it is not really endowed. The study of this and other data (v. Appendix, Chapter VII) lends no credence to the view that it is a purposive entity of continual retrospective aims, always trying to get back to its *foyer d'origine*. It is an essence of much more passive, much more amorphous kind. Nowhere in the native text, for instance, can support be found for the statement that "at bottom it is

[1] "Essai sur le Don," *l'Année Sociologique*, N.S., tom. i, 1923–4, 47–9.

the *hau* which wishes to return to the place of its birth, to the sanctuary of the forest and of the clan, and to its owner ".[1] Nor is it clear from the Maori data that the *hau* alone is instrumental in punishing the person who does not repay a gift. Mauss says that " It is the *hau* which avenges the theft, which possesses the thief, enchants him, leads him to death or constrains him to make restitution ".[2] But in general it seems that such operation was accomplished by means of black magic (*makutu*), destroying spells which worked through the passive medium of the *hau* of the goods. Best expresses the consequences of neglecting to hand over the return payment for a gift thus, from the native point of view : " my act is a *kai hau* and death awaits me, for the dread terrors of *makutu* will be turned upon me." [3] In such texts as speak of the punishment of the delinquent by the *hau*, its action does not appear to be automatic, but in consequence of its being stirred up by the spells of the owner of the gift. This was so in the story of Tokoahu, narrated earlier in this chapter, and in cases of theft we know that *makutu* was always necessary to punish or induce restitution. Of this M. Mauss is evidently not aware, for in no part of his essay is reference made to this universal means of dealing with unlawful detention of goods. The *hau* alone effected nothing. If, as Mauss represents, the *hau* were automatic in its action, sufficient in itself, vivified and animated with the impulse to return to its owner, why did the latter need to use magic, for which the services of a priest usually had to be engaged, at some cost ?

Moreover, in conceiving of the vital essence of the goods as being imbued with the urge to return to owner, clan and lands, confusion has arisen between the different types of *hau*. In accordance with this theory, *hau* of goods, *hau* of man, *hau* of forest and of land are all blended in one,[4] though to the Maori they are quite distinct.

And linked with this comes still another serious point of criticism. By a transition, for which no authority is given, the *hau* of the giver, not that of the gift, is finally said to be at the basis of the compulsion to repay. " It is understood clearly and logically from this system of ideas that it is necessary to return to another that which is in reality part and parcel of his nature

[1] Mauss, op. cit., 48. [2] Ibid., 47. [3] *J.P.S.*, ix, 197.
[4] " Car le *taonga* est animée du *hau* de sa foret, de son terroir, de son sol. Il est vraiment ' native ' : le *hau* poursuit tout détenteur," op. cit., 47.

and substances; for to accept something from someone is to accept something of his spiritual essence, of his soul." [1] "To present something to someone is to present something of oneself" becomes the crux of the theory of obligation. But such is not expressed in the native text. The *hau* to which reference is made is clearly not that of the *donor*, but that of the *article given*. "*Na, ko taua taonga i homai nei ki a au, ko te hau tena ote taonga i homai ra ki a au i mua. Ko taua taonga me hoatu e ahau ki a koe,*" says the Maori informant. "Now that article given hither to me, that is the *hau* of the article given then to me formerly. That article must be given away by me to you." "*Notemea he hau no te taonga tena taonga na*"—"Because that article there is a *hau* of the [other] article." [2] No word here of the *hau* of the owner; one gift is simply regarded as being the essence of the other. When Mauss sees in the gift exchange an interchange of personalities, "a bond of souls," he is following, not native belief, but his own intellectualized interpretation of it.[3] The fear of punishment sent through the *hau* of the goods is indeed a supernatural sanction, and a valuable one, for enforcing repayment of a gift. But to attribute the scrupulousness in settling one's obligations to a belief in an active, detached fragment of personality of the donor, charged with nostalgia and vengeful impulses, is an entirely different matter. It is an abstraction which receives no support from native evidence.

[1] Mauss, op. cit., 49.

[2] Tamati Ranapiri, op. cit., 441. A point which Mauss seems to have missed is that the entry of the third person is not somewhat obscure, as he complains, but is necessary to the explanation. If *A* gives something to *B* which he in turn passes on to *C*, whatever *B* gets back from *C* should rightfully be handed over to *A*. The second article is the *hau*, the representative of the first. But this does not apply to an incomplete transaction when only two persons are concerned. *A* gives something to *B*, who makes no return. There is no second article involved to represent the *hau* of the gift.

[3] The linguistic analysis made by Mauss, though revealing the width of his researches, does not really strengthen his case. His handling of Maori words reveals a number of lapses. Thus one phrase of his rendering of the text of Tamati Ranapiri is "qu'ils soient désirables (*rawe*) ou désagréables (*kino*)" (op. cit., 46). But the citation of *rawe* here is a mis-spelling and in any case is meaningless. The original reads "*ahakoa taonga pai rawa, taonga, kino ranei*", where *pai rawa* is the correct equivalent for *désirables*, *pai* being the adjective meaning "good" or "satisfactory", and *rawa* simply the intensitive adverb "quite" or "very". Again, to say that *kai hau*, the acquiring of property without making a return, is synonymous with *whangai hau* (op. cit., 48) is incorrect. The latter signifies a specific ceremony of making offering to the gods; in these phrases the essential meaning of *kai* is "to devour", that of *whangai* "to feed". It is doubtful, furthermore, if the root of *taonga* be *tahu* (ibid., 45, 84). It is not in mere factious criticism that attention is drawn to these linguistic errors; such inaccuracies in the use of common native words suggest also the possibility of a misinterpretation of native ideas.

The main emphasis of the fulfilment of obligation lies, as the work of Mauss himself has suggested, in the social sanctions—the desire to continue useful economic relations, the maintenance of prestige and power—which do not require any hypothesis of recondite beliefs to explain.

To return to the central point at issue—it has been shown in the foregoing analysis how fundamental in Maori social life is the idea of *utu*, of reciprocity, of making a return for anything given. This principle is not confined to the Maori alone, but has been revealed as permeating the social life of a great number of peoples—as for instance in Melanesia in the accounts given by Malinowski of the Trobriand economic system, by Armstrong of Rossel Island " currency ", and by Thurnwald of the Buin gift system and the social institutions of the Bánaro. In the Andaman Islands, also, according to Radcliffe-Brown, reciprocity plays an important part. Its general importance has been well brought out by Mauss in the essay discussed above, as part of his brilliant sociological analysis.

The use of a special term *utu* in Maori speech to denote this concept indicates its importance to the native mind. In fact, if such general descriptive labels are of any use in the science of anthropology, the term *utu* may almost be ranged alongside those of *mana* and *taboo* (also native words from the Oceanic field) to denote this concept of equivalence or reciprocity which is found among so many primitive peoples.

Credit and Interest

It will have been observed that this system of reciprocity in gifts, even in its more purely economic aspect, often involved delayed repayment. A person received potted birds in their season, and returned the compliment by sending a present of fish when the due time came for catching them. In other words, the delay often incident on the seasonal production of different kinds of commodities represented a lag between acceptance and repayment. This was also the case with many other transactions, the donor of the gift being compelled to wait for a period until the return could be made. This amounted to a system of credit in exchange, embryonic perhaps in extent, but conceptually fully developed. Since one party made his present, waited and kept his account till the other should repay, this involved a definite trust in the fidelity of the debtor.

The second gift was often made larger than the first. This does not, however, correspond to any system of interest, since the increased return made by the first recipient is in no way a reward to the donor for " waiting ". It is not the premium for delayed repayment, which is the essence of true interest.

Lavishness in the Return Gift

The further analysis of this last phenomenon, the excess value of the return present, brings us to an interesting element of the Maori gift-exchange—the attempt of the debtor to more than fulfil his obligation. The amount of the return gift was, of course, always contingent upon the means of the donor, and the respective social standing of himself and the recipient, but the general principle was to be lavish in the repayment of obligations.

The immediate social background of this is not far to seek. As already mentioned, in the Maori economic life a distinct premium was placed upon generosity, liberal gifts, free hospitality. The practice of such virtues was greatly admired, it inflated a man's social reputation and prestige, it contributed materially to his rank and standing in the tribe. Proverbs, tales and the advice of elders encouraged such conduct.[1]

If this be formulated in a slightly different way, the important fact emerges : in the exchange of gifts the ostensible principle was not to obtain as much as possible and give as little, but, paradoxically enough, almost the reverse—to give as much as possible in return for anything received. Even in exchanges of the most clearly practical kind, as in those of local for non-local food-stuffs, this principle was in operation. It is clear then that the idea of the native as being actuated in exchange by motives of pure economic advantage must be modified by making allowance for considerable elements of vanity, pride, and desire for power. Yet the economic must not be neglected ; beneath the surface liberality of the transaction runs a strong current of self-interest, with a continual insistence on reciprocity of treatment.

The outstanding features of the gift exchange as observed in our study may now be recapitulated.

(1) Each transaction had the appearance of being free and spontaneous, each party giving with a good grace, apparently

[1] See the writer's " Proverbs in Native Life ", *Folk Lore*, xxxvii, 134–53, 245–70.

of his own volition and without stipulation as to a return present.

(2) In reality a strict system of obligation was in force, involving not only a *compulsion to give* when the situation arose and a *compulsion to accept*, but also *a corresponding imperative to repay the gift by another* of at least equivalent value. With failure in this respect was associated loss of reputation.

(3) The payment must if possible be somewhat *in excess* of what the principle of equivalence demanded, so that the transaction tended to resolve itself at times into an attempt by each party to outdo the other in giving.

These principles, as far as can be ascertained, are by no means peculiar to Maori society, but are characteristic of the institution of the gift-exchange among all primitive peoples.

Theories of the Gift Exchange

The co-existence in the one institution of these two antagonistic principles of strict equivalence and of liberality demands some further enquiry, and we may consider how this problem has been treated by various theoretical writers on primitive economics. We may first turn to the opinion of Karl Bücher, which calls for some attention owing to the popularity his writings have achieved. Bücher regards the institution of the gift exchange as being essentially a transition form. He holds that originally mankind lived in a state of society in which the transfer of goods was accomplished by pure gift, no idea of return being in mind. This in process of time gave way to the system of gift-exchange, out of which finally developed the system of exchange by barter and sale. Even among the most primitive peoples of to-day true exchange is unknown, and goods can only be transferred by means of *presents*, and also, according to circumstances, by way of robbery, spoils of war, tribute, fines, gambling and the like. Among the more advanced societies exchange still bears the hall-mark of its origin in customs reminiscent of the making of gifts.

This theory of the gift-exchange as an intermediate stage between presents and barter, which was also put forward by Herbert Spencer at a much earlier date, seems perhaps plausible at first sight, yet severe criticism may be directed against it. It has already been pointed out (Chapter I) that the process of evolution may be represented as commencing from either end of the series. Bücher says that the gift exchange is a transition from gifts to

exchange; on his method it might equally well be a half-way house in the development from exchange to a system of pure gifts. On this point of origin the rival theories of Bücher and Müller-Lyer present an interesting contrast.

This framework of evolutionary stages is not set up from any direct evidence, but by arbitrarily splitting up the institution of the gift-exchange and assigning each element to a different grade of development. The fact that the transaction takes place in the form of gifts provides the postulate for a prior stage of pure gift, while the insistence on a return payment is taken as a proof that the institution is only a provisional step on the way to a fully fledged system of proper barter. Hence for Bücher examples of the gift-exchange among the Maori or the Indians of Central Brazil are simply "peculiar customs which clearly illustrate the transition from presents to exchange". But in arguing thus he misses in reality the *incidence* of the act of presentation. Gift and the obligation to make return are complementary and the fact that this is disguised under the social fiction of voluntary behaviour gives no reason for separating them. It cannot be too firmly emphasized that the exchange of gifts is an integral institution, standing in direct relation to a complex set of ideas and emotional attitudes, and quite in equilibrium with the other structural elements of the social life. There are no grounds for representing it as a transition between two other stages of economy.

Moreover, the hypothesis of a state of society in which pure gifts were the rule and no return was demanded is inconsistent with Bücher's other theory of primitive economic existence as being a state of "individual search for food". With this, a condition of savage egoism where everyone kept for himself what he received, and maintained a purely selfish outlook, it is difficult to reconcile a state of primitive altruism where one gave away goods freely and asked for nothing in return. From our previous analysis it becomes clear that it is only by reference to fundamental social attitudes and not to any hypothetical scheme of stages of development that the apparent anomaly of the gift exchange can be explained. Working on these lines, several later writers have made useful contributions to the study of the problem.[1]

[1] Some pertinent observations are made by W. Gaul ("Das Geschenk", etc. *A.f.A.*, xiii) on the regulation of social bonds through the exchange of gifts, but these are rendered inconclusive by the direction of his attention upon evolutionary ideas.

Reference must here be made again to the work of M. Marcel Mauss, in order to fit it into the wider scope of the present argument. In this essay he skilfully analyses the whole social context of the institution, and shows how the exchange of gifts is correlated with the obligation of repayment on the one hand, and on the other, with the social imperative of generosity, while inflation of prestige, rank and power accompany the transaction. A main theme of his essay is the study of the basis of the idea of reciprocity, the binding obligation to repay, which underlies the system.

As already noted, being peculiarly impressed by the magical means of enforcing the obligation, especially as current among the Maori, he finds the root of the system of reciprocity in the idea that in making a gift a man hands over with it a portion of his own personality. This separate or semi-dissociated item of personality, afflicted by acute nostalgia, continually strives to get back to its owner, and as Mauss adds, to the clan and the soil. If not provided with some means of return by a counter gift, it injures the recipient. Hence, according to the French sociologist this idea, widely held by savage peoples, is responsible for the care taken to repay gift by gift.

There is no need to retrace the argument by which I have shown the inadequacy of the linguistic approach of Mauss to the problem, and the absence of Maori belief either in the transference of personality from donor to recipient along with the gift or in the effort of this personality to return to the bosom of its owners. It is sufficient here to point out that even if the theory of Mauss were based upon a broader inductive foundation it would seem still not to have reached the heart of the problem. If the element of reciprocity in the gift exchange depends on the idea of the interchange of personality, one has still to explain why this idea has arisen and how it became linked with the custom of making exchange in the form of a gift. To my mind the basis of the institution is to be found in the sphere of social, not supernatural values, a conclusion which the work of Mauss himself, most of it of real value, essentially supports.

The theory of Ernest Crawley, not very explicit, but contained in his treatment of *ngia ngiampe* [1] is somewhat similar to that just reviewed. He holds likewise that the exchange of gifts involves also in native belief the exchange of personality, but

[1] *Mystic Rose*, 2nd ed., 1927, i, 293–4 (ed. by Th. Besterman).

suggests that the rationale of the exchange, of the gift and counter-gift, is to promote goodwill and amity by each person, donor and recipient, possessing some of the personality of the other. A bond of personality is thus established, cementing social relationships.

On this idea very much the same comment may be made as before. One point in his theory, however, which Crawley shares with Herbert Spencer and which later is developed by Radcliffe-Brown, is quite suggestive, namely, the view that exchange of gifts is a form of mutual propitiation.[1]

A useful sociological approach is adopted by Radcliffe-Brown, who without making any appeal to mystic ideas of personality, expresses the motivation of the gift exchange in terms of individual and group relationships. According to him the ceremonial giving of presents among the Andamanese helps to create bonds of goodwill and he explains the element of reciprocity, the desire for a return present on the grounds that it is a wish by the donor for a corresponding assurance of goodwill from the recipient. "The one has expressed his goodwill towards the other, and if the feeling is reciprocated a return present must be given in order to express it." [2] This explanation by the manifestation of goodwill is also adopted by Miss E. Hoyt in her book on primitive trade, while Bücher in one of his most recent essays also approaches this conception, though still retaining his evolutionary hypothesis. It points to one important aspect of the problem.

Mention has already been made of the analysis given by Dr. Malinowski of the system of exchange prevailing in the Trobriand Islands, in which he has revealed the importance of the factors of ambition and vanity in leading to ostentatious and lavish giving, and the no less striking insistence on adequate repayment of obligations. "Nothing has a greater sway over the Melanesian's mind," he says, "than ambition and vanity associated with a display of food and wealth. In the giving of gifts, in the distribution of their surplus, they feel a manifestation of power, and an enhancement of personality." Such are the motives leading to generosity in presentations. Yet beneath the free and easy manner in which these transactions are

[1] Spencer's treatment of the gift exchange (*Principles of Sociology*, ii, 81–104, iii, 380–4), suffers as usual from his attempt to fit the institution into an evolutionary scheme.

[2] *The Andaman Islanders*, 237.

conducted the careful observer can note " the keen self-interest and watchful reckoning which runs right through ". Moreover when a man endeavours to fulfil his obligations " he is impelled to do so partly through enlightened self-interest, partly in obedience to his social ambitions and sentiments." [1]

In what follows I have endeavoured briefly to develop some of these ideas a step further, and to examine the gift-exchange with a view to ascertaining what is the fundamental social basis for the meeting of these diverse and strangely contrasting elements in the one institution. The view put forward represents a kind of synthesis, taking especial account of the emphasis laid upon the factors of generosity and reciprocity by Dr. Malinowski, and the promotion of goodwill by Professor Radcliffe-Brown.

Fundamental Aspects of the Gift-Exchange

Every type of exchange fulfils certain ends—they may be economic, arising from local variations in natural resources, or differences in specialized technique of various tribes, or they may be social, concerned with the maintenance of rank and position, or the closer binding together of associated groups. It is on this point of motivation that Bücher and other writers reveal the deficiencies in their treatment of this institution, for they consider it as purely a matter of economic concern, " due to the unequal distribution of the gifts of nature and to the varying development of industrial technique among the different tribes." [2] The inadequacy of this as a measure of the reasons for conducting exchange has been made clear in the former critical remarks.

Exchange, as it occurs in any primitive community, represents not simply an aggregation of spasmodic acts, but a coherent system, an institution conducted according to traditional procedure and socially approved rules. Even the most spontaneous individual transactions take place within a definite scheme of regulation. This implies, too, a certain correlation with the social structure of the community. The actual form of the exchange is thus dictated by a complex set of considerations.

The striking nature of the gift-exchange, taking place by

[1] *Crime and Custom*, 26–7, 29–30, v. also *Argonauts*, 95–8, 167–171, 173–6, etc.

[2] *Industrial Evolution*, 60. E. E. Muntz in an otherwise useful article, " The Early Development of Economic Concepts," *Econ. Journal* (*Econ. Hist.*, No. 1), Jan., 1926, adopts this point of view.

present and counter-present, is adapted to the particular configuration of structure of any society in which it exists. To my mind, however, one of the fundamental determinants of this institution is provided by the social situation of a person in regard to the fellow members of his community and his wider circle of acquaintance. Consider the social situation of the donor and recipient of a gift in such a transaction. In society each man bears a double attitude towards his fellows: they are necessary to him, he must have constant contact with them, he is dependent upon them at almost every moment of his life. He must therefore continually conciliate them, make concessions to them, compromise with them.

On the other hand, he cannot do this to an indefinite extent. As the other members of the society are the prop and mainstay of his existence so also are they his imminent rivals, with whom he must always be contending in order to secure the things necessary for his welfare. They take opportunities which he lets slip, and crowd him out of vital activities; they are always at his elbow ready to step in and deprive him of rewards that should rightfully be his; he must share with them social perquisites which he had rather were his alone. Hence he must make a distinct stand for self-protection, must insist on receiving his due, to keep himself from being pushed to one side in the crush for place, opportunity and the sweets of life.

There exists then this opposition between those two principles of conciliation of one's fellows and care for one's own interests. It is the age-old conflict between altruism as a necessary condition of social peace and self-care as a necessary condition of individual preservation. Life in society renders it imperative that there should be concession, conciliation, renunciation, placation of one's neighbour; it demands none the less a jealous care for one's own interests. It is not necessary that the motivation for such behaviour should be on the intellectual plane; the organization of our emotions around objects of value plays a great part in determining our conduct towards ourselves and others.

This dual principle of the social situation is seen reflected in the gift-exchange. On the one side the goods are handed over in the form of a gift, any request is complied with, largesse is the rule, there is renunciation of property, and no haggling is permitted to mar the concord of the transaction. The recipient

too, pursues the same course; conciliation and social harmony require that he make return for the gift, and the repayment of obligations is done with interest.

It has already been shown in various parts of this book how generosity in such matters becomes the passport to social success. I would here suggest that the social approval of generosity, of hospitable conduct, the premium of reputation and power set upon such acts is at bottom a standardization of a culturally valuable attitude—that of conciliation in society. It seems probable that the correlation which exists in most primitive societies between liberality and prestige is not fortuitous, but is grounded on the advantage to the society of stimulating that type of conduct best calculated to preserve social harmony.

To return to the gift-exchange—on the other side of the scales there is a deep insistence on reciprocity, a careful balancing of accounts, a concept, given articulate expression, of rendering an equivalent for anything received. The individual always endeavours to recoup himself for any loss he may sustain. Though he may give freely, he demands back at least the value of his gift. When spurred to generosity, it is with the expectation of being recompensed in kind. It may be noted that this desire for repayment can be explained quite well by reference to direct utilitarian interest, and that there is no need to appeal to any ideas of the mystic transference of personality. The return of the gift is often backed by magic, but this is a subsidiary sanction, a reinforcement of the practical desire for repayment.

To sum up, one may regard the form of the gift-exchange as being largely contingent upon the social situation of a person in contact with others within his circle. They are essential to his welfare, hence he must conciliate them; they are his potential rivals, hence he must guard himself from loss.

It would be inadequate, however, to represent the gift-exchange as being conditioned by this naked opposition of interests of the individual within the community. This fundamental aspect of all social contacts is veiled by a number of other factors, rules of behaviour, family ties and affections, standardized forms of co-operation, and various sentiments which all combine to give even the most ordinary social relationship the intricate character which it bears. Having stated the proposition in its simplest terms, one must then introduce such qualifications to preserve touch with reality.

Thus having spoken of the element of conciliation as represented in the donative aspect of the exchange, it must be pointed out that usually this conciliatory aspect is more apparent than real. In other words, it does not represent so much the actual feelings of the donor as his wish to conform to procedure, to maintain the socially recognized standard of behaviour, and to avoid lowering himself in the eyes of others. It is sufficient if the outward seeming be fair. The view of Herbert Spencer, and to some extent that of Radcliffe-Brown, appears to be a little naïve in attributing the conciliatory aspect of the gift-exchange to a real and constant placatory desire to establish goodwill in the hearts of the opposite side. Undoubtedly such motive plays a considerable part, but the air of propitiation in these transactions is often simply a matter of etiquette. This, however, does not destroy the value of such behaviour; the donative, conciliatory aspect of the transaction helps very materially to smooth over the immediate conflict of interests between the two parties, and to promote social contact. The disapproval of bargaining among the Maori, for example, as not being *tika*, as contrary to "good form", had the effect of removing a predisposing cause of quarrels in such exchange. Complaint might be made afterwards, but it was indirect; express articulate clash of opinions was warded off. Such is always the great function of etiquette—to facilitate social intercourse.

Moreover, the liberality of the donor was not always an expression of his personal desire to conciliate or his sense of conformity to procedure. It also served to convey a gesture of pride, an affirmation of superiority. The return of the gift likewise denoted the attempt of the former recipient to regain his social status, which had been imperilled. He who gives magnifies himself in the eyes of others; he who receives is diminished in importance. The elements of self-assertion and vanity, therefore, working in conjunction with the organization of rank and influence in the tribe, must be included among the factors of social psychology which help to sustain the donative form of the gift-exchange.

I have tried briefly to indicate what appear to be the most general social correlates of the institution of the gift-exchange. The mode of transfer of goods, however, differs widely in various societies, leading one to conclude that the fundamental opposition

of interests in community life, through the force of varying social and economic circumstances, finds diverse forms of expression. Thus the type of exchange in vogue among a certain people will largely depend upon their position with regard to sources of raw materials, ways of communication and the territory of other tribes, the existence of a convenient kind of object which may serve as a medium of exchange, the varying nature of the political organization, and the relative importance of different types of social sentiment—as for example the comparative value placed by the community on warlike and industrial pursuits.

It seems probable that the change in specific conditions of this kind accounts for the rapid alteration which takes place in the institutions of native folk under European influence. It has been noted by writers on economic anthropology that trade in the modern sense did not exist among native peoples before they came into contact with relatively advanced races, as Arabs or Europeans, and it is sometimes concluded on this basis that the concept of equivalent in exchange, or of profit, was unknown to them. It is pointed out at the same time how rapidly the institution of regular trade springs up once that contact has been made. The difficulty of introducing an entirely new concept to the native mind is well known, yet no attempt is made to explain this anomalously rapid growth. In reality, it is the new material and social conditions, not a new mental outlook, that makes the change. The concepts of equivalent, of profit, of bargaining were not entirely foreign to the native in his primitive state, but until the Europeans came were restricted in their development by the external circumstances.

The introduction of new social standards, the breakdown of the old organization, the idea of possession and retention, and not fluid use, of wealth as the criterion of social power, facilitated the spread of the new system.

Such was the case with the Maori, and so we find that he began to engage in trade with avidity not many years after the coming of the white man. After his first unpleasant experiences with adulterated goods, he became a careful judge of materials, a keen bargainer with an eye to his profit, and would spend long hours in chaffering over the price to be received in return

for his pigs or potatoes.[1] Scrutiny of the early records of the contact of Europeans with the native people of New Zealand would soon convince anyone that the various concepts embodied in the notion of trade did not have to be laboriously implanted by the white man in the native, but, once given the stimulus of novel economic and social conditions, sprang up and flowered from a soil which had long contained their seed.

[1] In so expert a manner did the natives engage in trade that in 1845 a merchant remarked upon their keen business-like habits, their good judgment of quality and price, their reflection over bargains, and their appreciation of how to take the best advantage of the market (W. Brown, *New Zealand*, 58–60), cf. also J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative*, ii, 285–6 ; W. B., *Where the White Man Treads*, 224–5 ; and statements by Labillardière, Savage, and Dentrecasteaux, quoted in Chapter XIV. Wm. Fox (*Report on Settlement of Nelson*, 20) remarks of the natives there : " The greater part of the corn grown by them is brought to market, and they are quite up to the importance of holding their stock till towards the close of the year, when prices are high." And after a couple of anecdotes he says : " They show by such remarks that they understand quite enough of trade to drive a good bargain for themselves, and indeed they seldom, if ever, fail in getting the best price going for what they have to sell."

CHAPTER XIII

Native Tracks and Canoe-Ways

In discussing the problems of exchange reference was made to the manner in which various types of goods passed from one district to another, penetrating, in the case of obsidian and nephrite, as far as several hundred miles from their original source. Wide distribution of this kind indicates a well-developed system of inter-communication and an extension of social and economic relationships far beyond the borders of the individual tribe.

To some extent the diffusion of these goods was accomplished by a process of repercussion of exchange, the object passing from one tribe to another without involving any great wandering abroad on the part of any person concerned. But, on the other hand, long journeys were also made by single men or parties of varying strength through the territory of other tribes, and these were responsible for the transportation of many important culture-items.

The Maori of old had a decided penchant for travelling. Apart from raiding forays and regularly organized war-expeditions, many peace-time trips of great range were undertaken, notwithstanding the constantly recurring outbreaks of hostilities between adjacent tribes, which must have restricted inter-communication. Successful journeying was greatly facilitated by the native system of generous hospitality, any traveller, relative or stranger, being always entertained with food and lodging, and, if a man of rank, presented with gifts ere his farewell. These he either repaid on the spot, or when a convenient opportunity later presented itself. This extensive hospitality explains how, as reported by Marsden and other early visitors to New Zealand, and confirmed by the ample narratives of native history, the leading men of a tribe could be absent with a small retinue for many weeks or even months at a stretch.

Aim of the Traveller

One is naturally led to inquire the object of these long journeys. Not infrequently the motive of cardinal importance was sheer curiosity—interest in the country and people outside the tribal borders, and desire to learn more of the novel conditions obtaining there. A not uncommon cause of journeys to strange districts and tribes was the desire to visit and gaze upon some chief or lady of rank, the fame of whose beauty, courage, industry or hospitality had reached to distant parts. In the history of Tu-te-kawa, again, it is related how that chief, being offered passage in a canoe from Hastings to Wellington (the Harbour of Tara) a distance of over 150 miles, refused, saying, " Not so, I wish to go overland as far as Whanga-nui-a-Tara. I have not travelled this way before, and so wish to see the country." [1]

Coupled with this general desire to acquire experience of new scenes was the specific interest in the economic conditions of these regions. The native liked to know in particular what were the food-bearing qualities of the district, the fertility of its soil, the productivity of its forests in yielding birds and other game, and this not necessarily with any view to acting subsequently upon the knowledge obtained. The desire for information on this score was simply in harmony with the whole attitude of the Maori towards food, the acquisition and possession of it even by others being a matter of intense interest. As noted in a previous chapter, food was always the object of great social importance, the sentiment which surrounded it being evinced in proverb, myth, the ritual of magic and the ceremonial display on festive occasions.

The wish to obtain some definite economic product provided the stimulus for a considerable amount of travel, more especially to Te Wai Pounamu, the greenstone districts of the South Island. Whalebone, obsidian, *kokowai* (red ochre) and unworked stone, were similar localized products which attracted trading parties. Such people might even themselves extract these materials from the source. The Tuhoe people, for instance, who had in their own lands no stone suitable for the manufacture of the best type of adzes used to obtain supplies from Waikato and Poverty Bay. In the latter case they made occasional expeditions to a famous

[1] *J.P.S.*, xxiv, 83.

quarry on the head waters of the Waipaoa River, where from the living rock they obtained pieces of stone which they worked up into implements on their return. These quarries, of course, were merely surface workings. It is stated by natives that when a deposit of good stone was found, the locality and knowledge of it was kept a secret as far as possible, lest other *hapu* or tribes be attracted by the news and send parties to work it.[1] More purely social ties also gave occasion to persons to travel abroad, as the wish to renew old friendships, to attend a feast or a marriage, or, perhaps even more compelling, to take part in a *tangi* or a *hahunga* (mourning for the dead and ceremony of exhumation of the bones). Any or all of these motives supplied an inducement to a native of olden days to pack up a cloak, a few ornaments and a little food and start off on a prolonged tour.

In view of this it is somewhat difficult to understand the opinion put forward by Colenso, that formerly there was very little communication between the natives of different tribes, or even of different villages. Consideration of the wide distribution of greenstone in the days of the first Europeans, the many narratives of journeys by chiefs of old, and the intricate tribal affiliations traceable to marriages contracted by men of rank when travelling in other districts indicates the erroneous nature of this view.

Of the extent of such journeys in pre-European times there is of course no direct evidence. The statements of early observers convey the impression that such occurrences must have been a normal feature of the native life. Many Maori of old were equipped with a considerable amount of geographical knowledge regarding the country as a whole which could only have been obtained by personal investigation or the hearsay reports of travellers. A map of the North Island was even drawn by a native for Governor King, and though by no means perfectly accurate, it displayed considerable similarity to that made by Cook.[2] Marsden remarked that the chiefs were great and enterprising travellers in their own country (i.e., New Zealand). Many of them were absent on their journeys ten or twelve months at a time.[3] On Moturoa Island he talked with natives, some of whom had travelled much in the interior, and described to

[1] Best, *D.M.B.*, No. 4, 25.
[2] J. L. Nicholas, *Narrative*, ii, 357–9. Cf. also G. Lillie Craik, *New Zealanders*, 380.
[3] *Missionary Register*, 1822, 251.

him the topography and character of the soil, the high lands covered with snow (Tongariro, Ruapehu), the internal lakes and hot springs (Rotorua) at that time unknown to Europeans, situated to the southward, in districts having a great population. They also told him that all their fine garments and carving were done to the southward [1]—which indicates the existence of definite economic contacts. Some years before, he remarked that it was not uncommon for the tribes of the North Cape to travel through the country to the East Cape (i.e., to the Europeans of that day, anywhere south of Tauranga) three hundred miles or more, on war expeditions. A Tahitian told Marsden that he had been three times in five years to East Cape with parties of a thousand men.[2] At Mahia in later years natives pointed out to W. Williams the scene of the Ngapuhi ravages, this place being 420 miles from the home of that tribe in the Bay of Islands.[3] The Amio-whenua (Round-the-land) expedition of 1821–22, composed of Ngati-whatua and Ngati-maniapoto, reached the shores of Cook Strait and covered about 800 miles. Between 1810 and 1840 many long journeys of this type were made under arms. It is clear, as S. Percy Smith argues, that these great war-expeditions to the South were an abnormal feature in Maori life, being generated by contact with white culture, more particularly in the shape of musket and tomahawk, which were presented first to Ngapuhi and the northern tribes. Thus equipped, they were able to sweep through the lands of people armed only with native weapons of wood, bone and stone, and lay waste to whole districts. Ngapuhi, for instance, had previously not been able to penetrate further than Hauraki. The gradual cessation of these *taua* (war-parties) was due first to the acquisition of arms by the tribes further south and then to the spreading of Christianity. The fact that these extensive war expeditions were due to the explosive effects of European contact does not invalidate, however, the evidence for peaceful travel in pre-European days. Moreover, in most cases the routes followed by these parties were simply the peace trails of former time.

Much detail as to inter-tribal communication and travel is given in the great body of historical and traditional narrative formerly in the possession of the learned men of each tribe. The value of this evidence is, of course, not absolute, but no one

[1] Ibid., 1824, 515–6.
[2] Ibid., 1816, 522.
[3] *Church Missionary Record*, 1834, v. 261.

who is well acquainted with it can doubt that very extensive journeys were made by the men of former days. Even if the peregrinations of ancestors did not always occur as narrated, even if many of the incidents are fictitious, yet the scrupulous preservation of them indicates the interests and aptitude of the native, while the wealth of accurate detail given, the minute citation of routes and halting places in correct sequence indicates that the material of the tales can only have been based upon much actual experience in districts far removed from the tribal territory. It must be remembered also, that the existence and transmission of the details of these journeys was not for the purpose of preserving the knowledge of any great feats of travel, but as incidental to the more relevant affairs of meetings with relatives, marriages, children, rank and precedence, land-claims and the like. Their usual meticulous geographical accuracy bears therefore the stronger testimony to the extent of travel in pre-European times.

Reference to the traditional story of the adventures of the great ancestor Tamatea-ariki-nui, or Tamatea-mai-Tawhiti as he is sometimes called, is of great interest in this connexion. This man is generally acknowledged to have been the leader of those who came in Takitimu canoe in the great migration of the fourteenth century, and after his arrival in New Zealand and temporary settlement, he proceeded to survey the country. "*Haere tatou ki te mataki i tenei motu tae atu ki tera motu,*" "Let us go and see what this island is like, even as far as that island there," said Tama. The record of his wanderings is long, and is substantiated by traditions from tribes of the far North, the East Coast and the extreme South, all of whom agree on the essentials of his story. Leaving his home at Hokianga in the North he went to the head of the Fish of Maui, and even visited the most distant parts of the South Island, as the Otago natives corroborate. Several other journeys took him down the East Coast again and through the interior of the island. Hence he received his name of Tamatea-pokai-whenua, Tamatea the Traveller. The map (No. 2) and the outline of his journeys (Appendix to this chapter) indicate their extent. Tama was the most inveterate stroller whose adventures figure in Maori history or tradition, but other ancestors also, as Turi, Ihenga and Hou made many noteworthy journeys.

Modes of Travel

In the land of the ancient Maori there were only two means of travel—on foot or by canoe. The footways were narrow paths, worn smooth by the padding of bare feet—sandals were rarely worn, in the North Island at all events—and kept clear by the breaking off of intrusive foliage by passers-by. These tracks ran up hills and down slopes, fairly straight in general direction but with many bends due to such obstructions as rocks and fallen trees, often deliberately selecting the steepest pinch in an ascent—or so it seemed to the writer when tramping over one—and were a tribute to the constant physical fitness of the Maori. They were only a few inches wide, except in the immediate neighbourhood of a village, for natives always travelled in single file. Often in rugged country a knoll or the brow of a hill served as a *taumata* or resting place after the climb, and was usually cleared for a few yards around in order to command the wide view so much appreciated by the Maori. A fine open outlook from such a spot was prized, partly from interest in the beauty of the landscape, partly also, no doubt, from the desire to have sight of possible approaching danger. These foot-tracks frequently ran along the tops of ridges. One is reminded here of the opinion of H. Rudolphi, that ridges and watersheds always consciously command the preference with native peoples, since they afford fairly even ground, have a tolerably dry and firm soil, and are free from too luxuriant vegetation—in short are more *wegsam* than other situations. Moreover, they provide a vantage point for observing danger.[1] To a limited extent this can be endorsed in the case of Maori paths, which, however, varied greatly in their route according to the configuration of the ground, and not infrequently ran along the valley bottom. Sometimes, in very rugged country, as in parts of the Ruatahuna-Ruatoki trail, the bed of a stream became the path. At times the sea beach was utilized as a high road, especially on the Western side of the North Island, where long flat stretches of sand ran for many miles along the coast.

When possible, the Maori used water transport in preference to walking. Villages were built near navigable streams wherever conditions allowed, and canoes facilitated journeying. An early traveller in the interior of Southland notes that walking

[1] H. Rudolphi, *Die Bedeutung der Wasserscheide für den Landverkehr*, 70–4.

along the bank of a river, his party was retarded greatly by thick fern and swamps. The natives became fatigued and when asked if there was no path, pointed to the river and replied that the highway lay there. "They told us no one ever thought of walking where we were, that there was neither profit nor pleasure to be gained by it."[1] Even on the swift Whanganui or the turbulent rivers of Westland canoes were employed for human transport and the carriage of goods. The more important rivers of the country acted as main highways for the villages on their banks, and provided arterial routes to the interior. Such were the Waikato, the Whanganui, the Rangitikei of the North, and the Rakaia, the Waitaki and the Waimakariri of the South. These canoe-ways were used in conjunction with foot-tracks from their head waters up to the inland districts. The Manganui-te-ao, for instance, a tributary of the Whanganui, was one of the highways to the interior of the North Island, its navigation-limit providing an admirable jumping-off place to give access to the Taupo plateau and the Arawa country to the East, as well as the Waikato plain to the North. Where conditions allowed, the canoes were sometimes taken across from the head of the river by a portage, and then re-launched. Such a method was adopted at Hauraki, to cross from one coast to the other. This portage between the Otaiki (Tamaki River) and the Manukau Harbour has five hundred years of history behind it, since according to tradition it was used by Tainui canoe after her arrival in New Zealand. More rarely, a canal was dug to facilitate canoe transport.

The lakes also, as Taupo, Rotorua, Waikaremoana, etc., were very useful for transport, while the open sea was ever an high road, holding few terrors for the canoe-men whose ancestors had voyaged for a clear thousand miles and more across the Pacific without compass or chart, aided only by paddles and mat sails. But the East Coast, by reason of its relatively calm waters in summer time and the frequency of its harbours and sheltered inlets was more favoured than the West for travelling. It was the *tai-hoenga-tamahine*, the "girl-paddling sea", or the *tai tamawahine*, "the women's sea," an allusion to the lack of danger in voyaging thereon. The West Coast, the *tai tama tane*, "the men's sea," was also frequented, though its cliffs,

[1] D. Monro (notes of a journey through the South Island), *Contributions to Early History of New Zealand Otago*, Hocken, 245.

surf and bar harbours rendered long journeys less practicable. It is to the somewhat forbidding nature of their shores that the Taranaki tribes owed so much of their immunity from northern canoe raids at the beginning of last century, the expeditions of Ngapuhi by sea operating along the East Coast.

Routes

We may now consider the actual routes used. Examination of such data as has been put on record reveals the existence in both islands of a number of regular channels of communication, tracks and waterways used consistently for travelling and connected up into a veritable network. No detailed description of these is possible here, but on the Map (No. 3) I have plotted the main communication lines, and in the appended text have given a brief indication of their termini and the course followed by each—the whole drawn from comparison of a variety of sources. Reference to the map shows the manner in which the different routes intersected, the wide area which they covered *en bloc*, and the great distances traversed by certain of the principal lines. Blanks on the map indicate, not absence of routes, but deficiency of information. As regards the North Auckland Peninsula, for example, it is known from incidental reference that there were definite lines of communication with Waikato and the South, but the details have not been recorded. The work of Elsdon Best in the Wellington district, of S. Percy Smith and W. H. Skinner in Taranaki, of W. H. S. Roberts in the South Island is worthy of emulation by other local field-workers, while the observations of H. D. Skinner on the passes and tracks of the Southern Alps are also extremely useful.[1]

Study of the aggregate of the travelling routes does not disclose any outstanding nodal points in their intersection, but does indicate certain basic trends in their course, mainly to be correlated with the topography of the country. The shape of each island, the length being more than twice the breadth even in the widest part, and in general many times that ratio,

[1] E. Best, *Land of Tara* (map) passim ; S. P. Smith, *Taranaki Coast* (much material from W. H. Skinner), 10–15 (map) ; W. H. S. Roberts, *Maori Nomenclature, Maori Place Names of Otago*, passim ; H. D. Skinner, "Maori Life on the Poutini Coast," *J.P.S.*, xxi, 141–51 ; *v.* also F. R. Chapman, "Working of Greenstone," *T.N.Z.I.*, xxiv, 481–2, 487–92 ; T. W. Downes, *Old Whanganui*, 148. A good account of native tracks in the interior of the North Island is given in *The New Zealand Gazette and Britannia Spectator*, Port Nicholson, 14 and 28 Nov., 1840.

renders it natural that the principal lines of communication should be North-South. This is assisted, moreover, as regards the North Island, by the main river flow. The principal land travelling route of this island came down from the Northern peninsula to Tamaki, all trails being forced to converge there, then proceeded up the Waikato valley as far as its confluence with the Waipa, up the valley of the latter, and then over the hills to Kawhia. From here ran the main highway south, following the coast to Whanganui-a-Tara (Port Nicholson). This track took advantage of every little piece of beach that existed, but in the more thickly inhabited districts it ran from one village to another, though never diverging very far from the coast. The total distance from Tamaki to Port Nicholson measured over 350 miles. This was the principal route taken in later years by war-parties. Besides the coast road, there were two other important routes from the North, variations of the first. One, the Taumata-mahoe track, leaving the coast at the Urenui River, ran eastwards inland, striking the upper waters of the Whanganui River and then following this down to the sea, to meet the coast road again. Sometimes the Patea River was descended instead of the Whanganui. The other, taking off from the Waikato as before ran up past the Waipa confluent till somewhere opposite Te Awamutu, and then struck off to the southwards, passing west of Lakes Taupo and Rotoaira, to meet the Manga-kino stream, a tributary of the Whanganui, which it descended to join the last-named route and finally debouch on to the coast as before. From this it can be seen what an important part was played by the Waikato and Whanganui Rivers in serving as a valley path or canoe route in the longitudinal line of communication in the North Island.

The second main group of travelling routes comprised those which connected the East and West coasts, and, allied with them, those which gave access from the sea coast to the interior. Of these there were several, spanning the island at intervals. One set crossed at various points the main watershed, the dividing range which runs like a back-bone southwards from East Cape, others led from places on the sea coast to the central plateau around Lake Taupo, the village of Tokaanu on its southern shore acting, from its central position, as a kind of nodal point, though not one of great importance. Doubtless other tracks converged similarly on Rotorua, but actual details of these I

have not been able to trace. In the South Island a most important set of tracks crossed the Alps at various points in the range, through passes (*noti*).

The orientation of the third group of communication lines was determined less by the topographical features of the country than by a peculiarity in its geological structure. In other words, nephrite, the *pounamu* so much prized by the Maori, is to be found only in and around the Arahura district,[1] hence a number of routes tended to focus on this part of the country. According to Maori tradition in the South Island, the first news of the greenstone came to the tribes of the East Coast in the seventeenth century through the wanderings of a woman from the West through a pass across the Alpine range. As H. D. Skinner has pointed out, however, *pounamu*, both from archaelogical evidence and from tradition in other parts of the country, is known to have been utilized long before that time by tribes all over New Zealand, and therefore it is possible that this narrative enshrines the discovery not of the stone, but of a new and less toilsome way of access to it. The route along the coast from Cape Farewell is exceedingly rugged, and a great saving of time and labour is made by following up one of the river valleys from the East, penetrating the main range by a gap, and then descending a western valley to the coast. An alternative view which suggests itself to the present writer is that the story of Raureka, "the deranged woman," as she is often termed, through whom the trans-alpine route became known—a tale which is generally ascribed to the end of the seventeenth century—has been brought forward in point of time, and may actually have had its basis in an event of many generations earlier. Indeed, it is not improbable that this tale is in reality of mythical rather than historical nature, serving to provide Ngaitahu tribe with a narrative background for their first use of the stone, which thus becomes satisfactorily fitted into the social scheme of things.

The Quest for Pounamu (Greenstone)

The great economic interest which attached to the nephrite in the mind of the native led to many journeys being undertaken to Te Wai Pounamu, "the water of greenstone," from other

[1] Also inland of Lake Wakatipu, according to H. Beattie (*T.N.Z.I.*, lii, 45–52) though in no great quantity. *Tangiwai* (bowenite) a similar stone used for ornaments was obtained from Milford Sound. The Arahura district, however, is the chief centre of interest.

districts to secure the stone.[1] This was the nearest approach which the Maori made to any regular form of trade. These expeditions were of almost epic nature. The ruggedness of the country was appalling. If the coast route were taken the way lay along toilsome rocky beaches, while inland the cliff rose abruptly from the shore, backed by high wooded mountains. Where occasionally a point of the cliff jutted out into the sea, rude ladders had to be placed against it, crevices of soft rock enlarged for foothold, and the precipice climbed. Along the narrow ledges of its face the traveller had to creep on hands and knees, or devoid of even this security, had to swing himself from one fissure to another, finally to descend on the other side by means of a knotted flax rope which he had fastened around some projection above. At intervals, swift snow-fed streams and rivers had to be crossed by rafts made of flax-stalks or dry timber. In bad weather or in winter forty miles of such travelling occupied ten or eleven days. No villagers were to be met with for the greater part of the way, hence the traveller had to carry a heavy pack-load of provisions, and even then had to rely largely on the game caught on the road.[2] The routes across the passes in the Southern Alps were not so arduous, but were toilsome and awe-inspiring enough. The gravelly river-beds were the only highway, the dense primeval forest on either hand being practically impassable. The lower reaches were often navigable for canoes, but with the approach to the great mountain range, swift current, ice-cold water, steep cliffs, and innumerable side-torrents, added to the possibility of rains and a sudden flood made the enterprise one of no small difficulty and danger. Knowing this, it is easy to understand why a party could only take back comparatively small quantities of the precious stone. In this greenstone trade the initiative seems to have been usually taken by the tribes exterior to the district.

In addition to the difficulties of the journey, the mystery and awe surrounding the actual acquisition of the stone focussed interest upon it. According to Maori myth the *pounamu* was endowed with qualities beyond the normal; it was believed to have been originally equipped with powers of locomotion and

[1] The name of the South Island has also been given by many writers as Te Wahi Pounamu, and translated as "the place of greenstone". After considerable controversy as to the correct form Te Wai Pounamu appears to have been established by consensus of opinion.

[2] *v.* the "Account of the Greenstone Country" in *Karere Maori*, August 2nd, 1849, vol. i, no. 16.

in far-off days to have migrated hither from Hawaiki, the home-land—some say in the form of a fish—pursued by its ever-attacking enemy, Sandstone. Greenstone, in its personified form, desiring to land, drew near to Tuhua (Mayor Island) in the Bay of Plenty, but observing there *mata tuhua*, the obsidian, grinning in defiance, with a show of rocky teeth, sheered off. After one or two more abortive attempts to find refuge further South, it finally came ashore at Arahura, where it is at present located. The legend of Tama-ahua, again, narrates how different varieties of the *pounamu* obtained their name and colour. Being a stone of some supernormal quality it was *tapu*, and to approach it was always difficult. Hence *karakia* (spells) had to be recited before looking for it, and due precautions observed. Warning was given to careless persons in the myth of Tumuaki, who for breaking the *tapu* was turned into stone.[1] The function of these legendary tales is clearly to reinforce the ritual observances and attitude of care and respect adopted towards the *pounamu*, and their existence can be correlated with the economic and social value attaching to the stone.

The facts adduced in the foregoing discussion have shown the facilities for communication between different parts of the country which existed under the old Maori regime. The diversity of these routes, coupled with the intense love of the native for travel, explains the wide geographical knowledge which he possessed. This system of canoe-ways and foot-tracks, linked up one with another, was of great economic advantage, too, since it gave access to localized raw materials and specialized industrial products otherwise unobtainable, and favoured freedom in exchange and the diffusion of the knowledge of technical process and cultural ideas.

[1] Tama-ahua, *Whare Wananga*, ii, 63, 137–8; Tumuaki, *Taranaki Coast*, 165–7. According to S. Percy Smith, the story of Tumuaki is historic and the marvellous elements involved, a mere gloss. In such tales " the historical part can usually be separated without much trouble ". For legends and beliefs as to the *pounamu*, *v.* Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1855, 132–5; John White, *A.H.M.*, iii, 80, 175–7, 310; F. R. Chapman, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxiv, 482–5; J. W. Stack, *T.N.Z.I.*, x, 86–7; E. Best, *Maori*, i, 163–5; *J.P.S.*, viii, 110; H. Beattie, *T.N.Z.I.*, lii, 45–52; H. D. Skinner, *J.P.S.*, xxi, 149–80. For ideas of its being a fish, *v.* W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, xxvii, 603–6.

APPENDIX

I. The Journeys of Tamatea-Ariki-Nui, also called Tamatea-the-Traveller

The following list of place-names, together with the accompanying Map (No. 2) indicates the three main journeys of Tamatea, leading chief of the Takitimu canoe, as described by tradition. This has been obtained by collating the accounts given by S. Percy Smith, in the *Whare-wananga* (Vol. II, *Te Kauwae raro*, 239–249) and by T. W. Downes ("History of Ngati-Kahungunu", *J.P.S.*, XXIII, 32–23, 111–24, and *ibid.* "Early History of Rangitikei", *T.N.Z.I.*, XLII, 77–8) with reference also in regard to Southland to H. Beattie's paper on Murihiku (*J.P.S.*, XXIV, 110–11). The first and second of these accounts were both obtained from the one informant, Te Whatahoro. Certain discrepancies which occur have been as far as possible neglected or reconciled, the main details of the journey being sufficient in themselves to show the extent to which, according to native tradition, these early chiefs travelled over the land.

First Journey.

Tamatea landed from Hawaiki at Muriwhenua (North Cape); thence went to Hokianga, and dwelt there two or three seasons. He left to explore the land, going down the east coast by canoe; beached his craft at Te Mawhai (Tokomaru Bay); anchored off Tapuae-o-Rongo-kako (near Gable End Foreland); landed at Nukutaurua (Table Cape) and then at Rangi-whaka-oma (Castle Point); stayed at Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara (Port Nicholson); sailed for the east coast of the South Island; called at the site of the present Lyttleton; went down to the Waiau River; stayed for perhaps a year in the extreme south. He then on his return sailed up the east coast of the South Island; through Cook Straight, touched at the west side of Kapiti Island, landed at the mouth of the Whanganui River; stayed there some time; went up the river to its head waters, across to Lake Rotoaira, then to the south shore of Taupo, canoed across the lake and down the Waikato to the Huka falls, where the canoe was lost. Thence to Whakatane on the sea-coast and home to Hokianga.

Second Journey. Tamatea left Hokianga again, travelling down the east coast by canoe; touched at Waitemata; then went to Turanga (Gisborne); then to Nukutaurua; thence to Wairoa and then back to Hokianga.

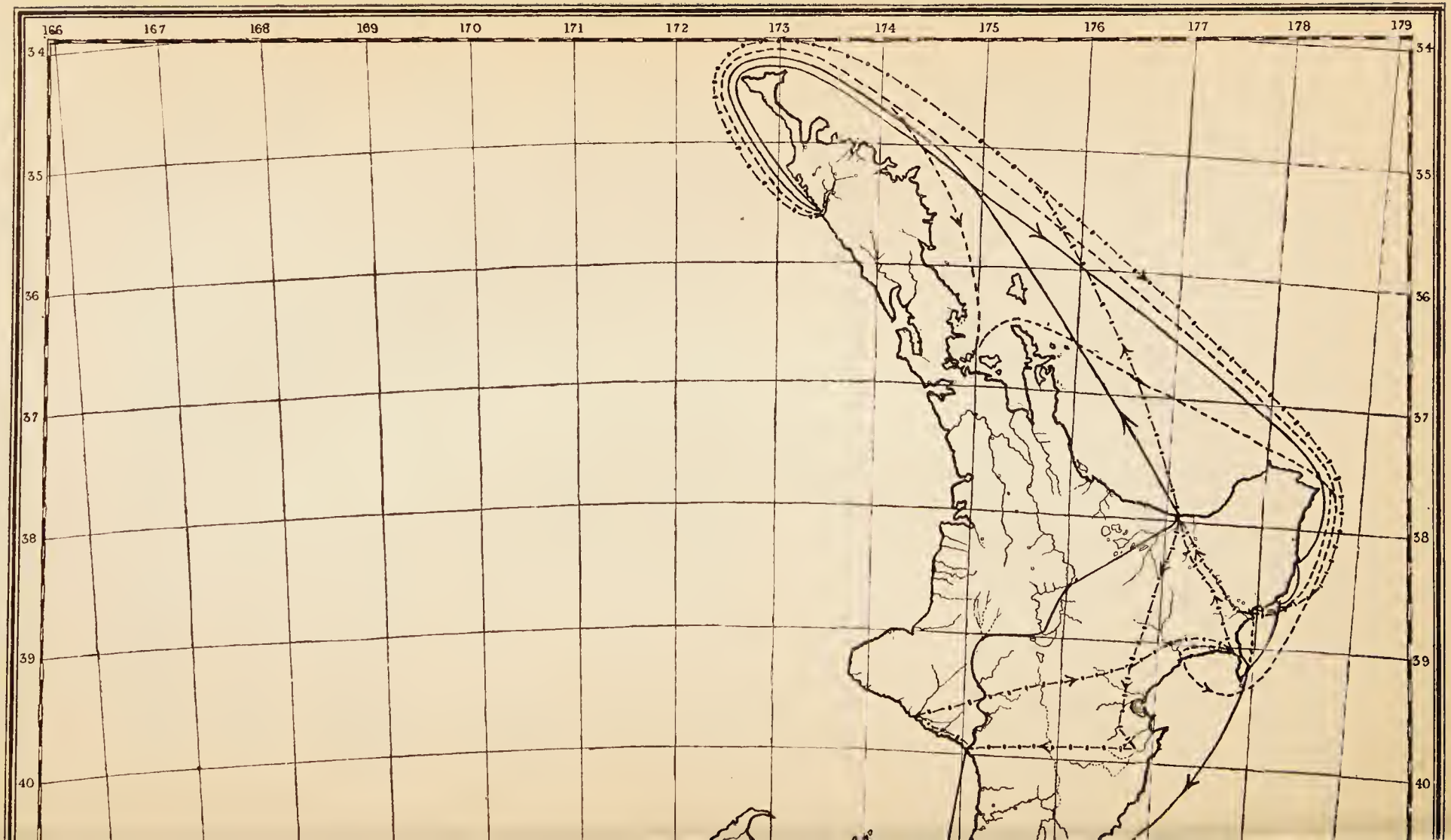
Third Journey. Again Tamatea left his village and travelled down the coast to Te Whenua-nui *pa* (Gisborne); then up the Waipaoa River (past Ormond), thence to Whakatane and then south to Heretaunga (Hastings); where he travelled inland. From there he crossed the central range to Whanganui on the west coast, going from there to Patea; then to Wairoa; then to Nukutaurua; then to Whakatane; then returned again to Hokianga in a small canoe. After later journeys of less importance he finally returned to Hokianga, where he died. Such were the wanderings of this ancestor.

II. Principal Communication Routes in Olden Days

North Island

No. on Map 3

1. Main highway from north, following west coast from Kawhia to Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara (Port Nicholson).
2. From Katikatia *pa* on coast inland to Whanganui River, striking at Marae-kowhai—the Tihi-manuka track.
3. Taumata-mahoe track starting from Urenui River, leading to upper Whanganui. Another track starting from Waitara, joined this after fifteen or twenty miles.
4. Whanganui River, an important arterial route to the interior on which canoes travelled as far as Taumaranui, where the track to Taupo was met.
5. Tauatapu track from Paekakariki to Porirua; then from Porirua to Te Korokoro. Special name for this part of (1).
6. Waikato River, an important highway.
7. From the Waipa valley over to Kawhia. Two tracks, one striking Kawhia harbour, the other the coast just below. This formed part of the main road to and from the North, opening on to the Waikato at one end, and joining the Kawhia-Port Nicholson track at the other.
8. Waipa to Mokau, an alternative to (7); less often used.
9. Mokau to Taupo. The Mokau river was navigable as far as Totoro (as 8); from there the Tapui-wahine track ran to Ongarue and the south end of Taupo.
10. Whakaahurangi track from Kairoa (near Waitara) south-east to the Patea River, thence to modern Eltham and then to Kete-marae to join coast road (1). A very important line of communication.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Traditional Journeys
of
Tamatea-Pokai-Whenua
1st Journey
2nd "
3rd "
Scale
English Miles 69 = 1 Degree
100 80 60 40 20 0 100 200 300
Longitude East of Greenwich
165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180
41 42 43 44 45 46 47

London. Edward Stanford. 55 Charing Cross

MAP 2

[*face p.* 440

11. Kaharoa track from the mouth of the Patea River to strike the Taumata-mahoe track near the Whanganui River, and then Tihimanuka track.
12. Manganui-te-ao branch of Whanganui ; navigable by canoe for some miles, then overland to Waimarino plains, Roto-aira and Taupo.
13. From Upoko-ngaro, ten miles from mouth of Whanganui, north-north-east to Mangawhero River, up its course for many miles, then over to Karioi, and east of Ruapehu to Taupo.
14. From settlements on north bank of Rangitikei, north-north-east past Hunterville to Waiouru where joined (13).
15. From same starting point a track crossed open country not far from Fielding, thence east through forest to Manawatu gorge over Ruahine Range to forest-clad plains at Tahora-iti and thence north to open country of Hawke's Bay.
16. Kaihinu track from coast at Ohau River, crossing Tararua Range into Wairarapa ; often used by war parties.
17. From Whakatane via Ohiwa, Waipaoa and down that river to Te Arai at Gisborne.
18. From Ruatahuna via Ruatoki to Whakatane.
19. Mohaka to Taupo by way of Tauranga-Taupo river.
20. Tuhua track, part of route from Waimarino northwards ; passed to west of Rotoaira and Taupo, and kept to left bank of Waikato to near Te Awamutu.
21. Taupo to Rotorua, crossing the Waikato (a two day's journey), and then on to the coast and Motiti (one day), down river.

South Island

No. on Map 3

1. Track from Kaiapohia to Awatere via Hanmer plains, Waiautoa River and Acheron.
2. Nelson to Pelorus.
3. Track from South Canterbury across the Alps, from mouth of the Waitaki River via Lindis pass to Lindis River, then to south end of Lake Hawea ; by canoe to Manuwhaia, thence overland to Lake Wanaka ; then by canoe to Makarora River, along this, through the Haast Pass, and down the Haast River to the West Coast.
4. Track up the Mataura River, the Nokomai, crossing Kawerau River, then to foot of Lake Wanaka, where other tracks were met.
5. Another track to the West Coast via Matukituki River and Jackson's River, ending at Jackson's Bay.
6. From Lake Ohau to West Coast, up Hopkin's and Huxley Rivers, via Huxley pass then down the Otoko River and the Paringa, joining (7).
7. Coast route from Jackson's Bay to Teremakau River, connecting up various other tracks to the greenstone country.
8. Kaiapohia over Harper's pass down Hohinui or Teremakau River to coast.

9. Route via Arthur's pass connecting Waimakariri and Teremakau, used only for entering Westland.
10. From the east coast by way of Browning's pass and north branch of Hokatika River to west coast.
11. By way of Rakaia River, Whitcombe's pass and the south branch of Hokatika River.
12. Via Hurunui River, Harper's pass and Teremakau.
13. From Kaikoura, through Tarndale country to upper Waiauuha ; Kopiokaitangata (head of Maruia River), down valley of the Grey River to the coast.
14. From the Conway River through Hanmer plains to valley of the Ahaura, a tributary of the Grey, and so to coast.
15. Coast route from Cape Farewell down to Arahura.

A track probably ran up the east coast to Kaiapohia, but information is defective on this point.

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Bay of Islands
Hokianga H.
Kaipara H.
Tamaki
Manukau H.
Waikato R.
Bay of Plenty
Whakatane R.
Kawhia Hbr
Mokau R.
Waipaoa R.
Whanganui R.

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MAP 3

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CHAPTER XIV

The Economic Aspect of Culture Change

The preceding chapters have dealt with the economic organization of the Maori in pre-European times. But an interesting series of problems is presented in the transformation which has been effected since the coming of the white man—the period of transition during the last hundred years and the new Maori economy as it appears to-day. These matters cannot be dealt with here at any great length, but a few general observations may be made in order to make clear the outstanding features which characterize the change. For the anthropologist the whole situation has a special interest because of its relation to the problems of culture contact.

Culture Contact

This general phenomenon presents many phases and many degrees of intensity. But we have to consider here simply one type: that which has been productive of such great modifications in the economy of the Maori, and in general, of native folk throughout the world—namely, contact with the white man.

Close connexion between free peoples of different cultural type, especially if they are in partial occupation of the same territory is liable to produce grave social tension. The degree to which this will occur varies according to the relative numbers of the peoples concerned, their disposition, their primary economic pursuits, their efficiency in the material arts, and the like. But the difference in thought, custom and belief is bound to engender some suspicion and mistrust, while the divergence in their social aims is a certain cause of friction. Continuous adjustment, even if only of a minor nature, and in personal relations, is necessary to preserve friendly intercourse. Sometimes this is maintained at comparatively small cost, at others the strain becomes too severe, and war is the result. The appeal to arms is apt to produce far-reaching consequences in the culture of the less advanced of these peoples, for the outcome of the struggle may give a distinct impetus to the transmission of cultural

forms and values. War is a great solvent of refractory social phenomena. Conquest thus paves the way for the spread of culture by the removal of the possibilities of active opposition to cultural change. It must not be forgotten, though, that many passive forces of resistance still remain; that no extraneous item can be really incorporated into the culture of a people by merely being *imposed* upon them from outside. The nature of cultural process is such that the adoption of any new trait from an alien folk, however strong, is dependent upon the manner of fitting it into the complex scheme of existing institutions. Only when it can be adapted to the sum total of custom, belief, technique and material apparatus by which the people regulate their lives is it received and utilized by them as their own. Otherwise, it remains a superficial attachment.

Apart from the direct enforcement of cultural forms, other influences, notably those of commercial contact, tend to facilitate the transmission of culture. The effect of trade, for instance, in providing a stimulus to the acquisition of a new language is quite pronounced.

When, as in the present instance, the people of the one race have attained that degree of technical efficiency and complexity of organization which is termed "civilization", while the technique and material culture of the other folk is so undeveloped as to be designated by us as "primitive", then the process of contact and cultural transmission can be seen with great clearness. Here the initial impact is most severe. And here the transformation takes place almost solely in the culture of the primitive people—if war, disease, alcoholic poisoning or a blindly super-imposed legal and moral code leave enough of them to undergo the change.

The greater utility of the tools, weapons and objects of value brought by the newcomers and the superior efficiency of their technical methods is a fact which can be clearly recognized by the native folk, and which leads to the creation of a new set of cultural values. In some cases these must of necessity supplant the old. The entry of the white man into Polynesia, for instance, has resulted in the substitution of the steel axe or adze for the stone blade. The musket in New Zealand ousted the native weapon as the decisive factor in warfare. The corresponding change in economic process and organization is reinforced by the fact that, in order to obtain these new and

attractive objects, the native may be persuaded to devote a large amount of his time to the production of goods desired by the white man for his own purposes. Pearl-shell and copra in the Pacific Islands, flax fibre and kauri gum in the early days in New Zealand—these are materials which to the native in his own economy have little value, but on which he spends his energies for the sake of the articles obtained in exchange. These things do not become embodied in the native culture, but the time and labour expended in producing them disturb the economic equilibrium, and have a distinct effect in facilitating cultural change.

The spread of new customs, artefacts and ideas is assisted by such changes in domestic economy as result from intermarriage of persons of the two races, or from that convenient but delicately-veiled custom whereby the European in colonial exile solaces himself in his loneliness with the company of the daughters of the land. The concepts and beliefs of a new religious faith, which sooner or later is bound to impinge upon the reluctant mind of the native, together with its associated moral precepts, also prove efficacious in breaking down the ideas and practices of former days. At the same time the intelligent acceptance and complete incorporation of them into native life is, like the imposition of an alien system of justice, ever a matter for question. Under some circumstances, as for example in the early days in New Zealand, the association of children of both races in common games and pursuits, and the facility in the native tongue gained by the sons of missionaries and settlers assist the exchange of ideas and the transfusion of certain elements of culture. The introduction by the civilized race of a system of education for the native people, who thereby acquire at least the rudiments of the foreign tongue, also tends strongly towards the breakdown of old customs and beliefs. In such circumstances language must be regarded as one of the most powerful factors in promoting culture change, for the acquisition of new words leads to the formation of new concepts, the building up of new systems of emotional values, centering in many cases, in types of objects strange to all that has hitherto been known.

There is no space here to enlarge upon these statements in detail. But this outline of the general factors responsible for the change in native culture is useful in providing a background for our study of the economic problem.

Attitude towards the Problem

I do not propose to engage in any discussion of the current methods of treating the whole question of culture contact. The schools of thought represented in the works of the Continental writers such as Graebner, Foy and Ankerman, Pater W. Schmidt, and Pater Koppers; in England by those of Rivers and the uniquely Oriented hypotheses of Elliot Smith and Perry, or in America by the more moderate diffusionism of Kroeber, Clark Wissler, and Sapir, demand a more thorough analysis than is possible here. It should be pointed out, however, that the study of the processes of cultural contact and transmission can only yield fruitful results when it is accompanied by a clear realization of the functional interrelation of the various aspects of culture, and when the emphasis of the problem is laid on the manner of adaptation of the new element into the existing social structure. Novel traits of culture are less easily transmitted or acquired than one is at first inclined to believe. Each item, whether it be artefact, technical method, form of social grouping or type of religious belief will only be introduced if it fulfils some definite need, and in the very process of its introduction it will become modified, moulded into conformity with the complex set of ideas, material equipment, institutions and traditional observances already dominating the life of the people.

The study of culture contact necessitates then the analysis of facts in their setting, the observation of things in their full institutional environment, a close attention to psychological and sociological process, not simply the comparison of isolated unit characters and the creation of hypotheses. Mere similarity in shape of an atefact, for example, provides very unstable gound for the postulate of foreign influence.

This chapter deals with the examination of actual historical data, the ascertained facts of the change in economic structure. In particular, stress is laid on the reasons for the adoption of any culture element, the manner in which it fitted into existing native institutions, and the modification it produced there. A detailed investigation in each case is impossible within these limits; a bulky volume would be required to cope with the mass of data. But even from the consideration of a few salient features in the transmutation from the former Maori economy

to its present state one can gain some idea of the mechanism involved.

Status of the Maori

In some respects the Maori affords an excellent example for the study of the effects of contact between a civilized and a primitive people. The span of his acquaintance with the European has been sufficiently long for the influences at work to find adequate expression, and even perhaps to attain some degree of equilibrium in the native culture. It is about a century and a half since the white man first landed in New Zealand, and great changes have taken place in the aspect of the country since those early years. On the land itself the results are notable enough. The axe and fire of the settler have made the bush retreat before him; the dark forest of Tane has given way to open grasslands, crops, and the brown expanse of ploughed fields; the whistle of the locomotive and the horn of the motor-car send their echoes around the gulleys where once only the birds broke silence; butter-factory and back-blocks store stand as witness to the new bondage of the soil.

With all this the Maori himself—where he is still to be seen—is greatly altered, and, to outward seeming, has conformed to the changes in his natural environment. He wears clothes of a European fashion, he rides on horseback, in a train, or in his own motor car, he runs cattle and sheep or farms his land, votes for his own M.P., and has a cultivated taste in gramophones, football, billiards, beer and race-meetings. He has produced lawyers, doctors, and Cabinet Ministers who take their place by right by the side of the educated European. Some of these men, to name only the late Sir James Carroll, Sir Maui Pomare, Sir Apirana Ngata, and Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck), have contributed materially by their public services to the advancement of both races. To the casual eye the culture change is complete. But observant study soon reveals that despite the progress made in some circles, the transmutation is not yet everywhere accomplished. Old customs are still followed, old beliefs die hard, and even in social and economic organization old forms still persist.

As one realizes the incomplete economic adjustment of the native to our European civilization, a triple set of problems opens up for investigation:

1. How has the present economic status of the Maori been attained; by what steps and by what mechanism has the change taken place?

2. What is the present position of Maori economic life; how far does it correspond with our own, and to what extent does it still retain elements of the former economic system?

3. Granted that the Maori economic system is not everywhere identical with that of the white man, what means can be adopted, not necessarily to bring about identity, but to secure to the native his fullest measure of development and self-realization in the community of which he is a member?

A clear realization of the issues is important in forming this last problem. It is neither necessary nor desirable, for the present at all events, to endeavour to turn the Maori into a European. There are elements of his culture which, in certain respects, are of considerable social value—the much maligned communal system for example, with its insistence on co-operation and mutual aid. It is probable, then, that the best interests of the native may be served by retaining certain aspects of his former social scheme and attempting to modify them in accordance with his present needs, rather than by endeavouring to supplement them wholly by our own culture-patterns.

The abolition or replacement of any native institution, however crude and undesirable it may seem to us, should never be lightly undertaken. To glance at the Pacific alone, it is clearly proven from the experience of the past decades that the elimination of native customs, though well-intentioned, has too often meant the elimination of the native as well.[1]

Historical Retrospect

In order to provide a basis for the study of the problems just formulated—the mechanism of the culture change, the present economic status, and the measures for future welfare (the detailed investigation of the latter two subjects being reserved for a future publication), it will be advisable to trace the effects of the contact of the Maori with the white man from the time of the first real meeting of the two races towards the end of the

[1] *v.* the excellent study of the results of European contact upon the native made by Captain Geo. Pitt-Rivers, *The Clash of Culture*, 1927. In this work he deals to some extent with the Maori situation, more particularly as regards the problem of miscegenation.

eighteenth century. A brief historical retrospect of the socio-economic conditions of this period, therefore, will occupy the next few pages.

Some of the material here collected will already be familiar to one who is versed in the early history of New Zealand, but much of it is fresh, being drawn from early and somewhat inaccessible records, including contemporary journals. Quite apart from this, the translation of this data, and the vast body of detail represented by it into an expression of economic tendencies fills a distinct gap in the history of social change in New Zealand.

In attempting to reduce the mass of data to some kind of order and to clarify the issues involved, four main phases can be roughly distinguished in the transformation from the former to the present Maori economy. These phases cannot be regarded as stages of evolution in the sense of being sharply differentiated one from another by specific traits proper to each. The whole trend of development is much more amorphous in character than the introduction of the notion of stages would imply. Broadly speaking, the same factors of transformation are active throughout the whole period under review ; it is in the nature of the reaction against them by the native, and in the scope of their operation that the distinction lies. In so far as succeeding decades are characterized by the employment of different and more complicated types of tools and apparatus, by a different economic outlook, and by increasing changes in economic structure, the separation of these periods into phases of cultural change may be safely adopted for convenience of treatment.

In speaking of the different phases of transformation the main, though not the sole, criterion employed, is that of material culture and technical process—the adoption and use of weapons, tools and other goods by the native. Other factors of economic organization, such as alterations in the labour personnel, splitting up of economic groups, changes in the system of ownership are also taken into consideration, but on the whole the nature of the material accessories renders them the most tangible evidence as to the extent of culture change.

I. The Phase of Initial Impact

The first phase of contact between Maori and European, that of the initial impact, was characterized by the demand of

the native for specific types of goods of a definitely practical nature, and of no great variety. Neglecting Tasman, who did not set foot on shore, the first arrivals of interest such as Cook, de Surville, Marion and Furneaux landed at various spots on the coast, obtained food and native products, and induced wonder in the Maori by their display of firearms, cloth and iron. But these visits left no deep impression upon the native culture. Till the end of the eighteenth century, transactions of merely a spasmodic nature were carried on between the natives and such European vessels as called. Thus in 1793 the people of the *Britannia* exchanged iron hoops and other articles for woven flax garments, *patu* (clubs), spears, greenstone ornaments, paddles and fishing tackle, while Governor King also left with the natives pigs, potatoes, and seeds, such as cabbage and maize.[1] In the following year the *Fancy* obtained large parcels of flax from the natives in the Waihou River for small quantities of iron [2]; and in 1801, the *Royal Admiral,* in return for axes and cloth, induced the Maori in the same district to undertake the transportation of timber.[3] In Queen Charlotte Sound, as late as 1820, Bellinghausen's company obtained native articles in exchange for hammers, gimlets, chisels, hatchets, shirts, mirrors and glass beads.[4] Even in the 'twenties the natives of Southern New Zealand were not much in contact with white men.

But in the early years of the nineteenth century the European culture began to secure a definite hold in New Zealand—only in one or two small districts, it is true, but they served as centres of dispersion, whence the elements of the new economic system were disseminated. In general, the inland tribes were more backward in acquiring European goods; all coastal tribes, again, did not fare alike, since some districts became the resort of traders more commonly than others. According to Best, the Tuhoe tribe first obtained European implements in the

[1] R. McNab, *From Tasman to Marsden,* 84–5, 101.
[2] Op. cit., 89. [3] Op. cit., 93.
[4] Ibid., *Murihiku,* 249. For notes on the introduction of iron tools to New Zealand, and a collection of statements by early voyagers, see Best "Stone Implements of the Maori," *D.M.B.,* 4, 1912, 293–303, cf. also C. O. B. Davis, *Maori Mementos,* 116–9. Bruny Dentrecasteaux (*Voyage,* 1808, tom. i, 272) notes that the natives brought fish, mats, arms, etc., to trade for hatchets, and the like, and adds "Tous les échanges se firent avec beaucoup de bonne foi". J. Labillardière (*Rélation du Voyage,* 1800, tom. ii, 84), also remarks "Toujours ils nous en remîrent avec une exactitude scrupuleuse le prix dont on était convenu." Observations on exchange with natives and their readiness to engage in this practice are given by Parkinson (*Journal,* 95, 96, 101, 104, 108, etc.).

'twenties, but not in sufficient quantity to oust the stone tools for some considerable time. As Tuhoe is a somewhat remote and inaccessible district, this may be taken as an index of the extent of penetration of the European culture.

The first real impression on native life was made, perhaps, by the whaling ships, who began to make it a practice to call in at the Bay of Islands to refit, and to procure water and fresh provisions. These were supplied by the natives, who grew extensive crops of potatoes, which they themselves used but sparingly, and traded to the vessels for the much-coveted iron tools. They were put up in flax baskets holding from eight to thirty pounds apiece.[1] Another factor which influenced the spread of the knowledge of European culture was the practice of Maori men of signing on to serve as whalers and seamen, by which they not only made the acquaintance of life on board ship and of certain of our economic standards, but also in Australian ports learned something of European technical processes and social life. The visits of native chiefs to Sydney, their cordial reception by officials, missionaries and colonists, and the presents of tools, wheat and clothing made to them further tended to introduce new ideas and culture accessories to the Northern tribes. The initiation of the mission scheme in 1807, and its realization in 1814, largely due to the energy of Samuel Marsden, introduced a new factor into the sphere of influences by which the native was surrounded—a factor that was destined to play one of the leading parts in the drama and tragedy of the civilizing of the Maori. The increasing number of itinerant traders, some of whom, like Hans Tapsell, of the East Coast, later took up their abode in the country and acted as middlemen in the dealings between the natives and the masters of vessels or the merchants in the larger ports, made for the wider adoption of European goods. Such men were eagerly welcomed by the Maori, as they offered a channel for the disposal of their produce and the reception of the coveted white man's articles. Travelling along the coast to the different settlements the trader engaged in barter with the natives. In

[1] It is of interest to note the method of trading pursued by the natives, who in dealing endeavoured to make as good a bargain as possible, adding to their offer one small basket at a time, and occasionally cheating the buyer out of a basket or two in handing them on board. (Savage, *Account of New Zealand*, 56–7, *v.* also Parkinson, *Journal*, 103). But cf. statements by Labillardière and Dentrecasteaux, quoted above.

some parts it was the custom for the latter to place hundreds of baskets of potatoes in a row ; the purchaser then went along and placed a stick of tobacco and a farthing on each, an equivalent which gave complete satisfaction.[1] Again, while the intercourse of native women with the crews of visiting ships cannot be said to have contributed materially to the advancement of our culture among the Maori, yet indirectly it had a decided influence upon their economic condition, by familiarizing the people with certain aspects of our mode of life, and securing for them quantities of iron and other desired goods. If in no other way, this practice made its effects perceptible by implanting the seeds of those diseases which for a time had such a disastrous result upon the physique of the Northern tribes, and considerably weakened the population. In addition, the formation of more permanent unions tended to facilitate the spread of European cultural traits.

In all, around the year 1830, there were estimated to be about 150 Europeans settled in New Zealand inclusive of children,[2] and by 1837 there were eleven mission stations north of Taupo.

From all these sources the native gradually acquired a quantity of European goods, though of a somewhat limited range. Pigs and potatoes were introduced at an early date and spread rapidly, while by 1807 the diffusion of the introduced cabbage over the Bay of Islands district was so general that it might have been thought to be an indigenous plant.[3] The natives also displayed a great keenness for agricultural tools. When Marsden brought over for exhibition a stocking-weaver, thinking to interest the people in the manufacture of these articles, the chief Ruatara told him that they wanted hoes, not stockings.[4] Axes, adzes and tomahawks—usually not helved—fishhooks, nails and small iron tools, print, tobacco, blankets, rough clothing, and pre-eminently, muskets, powder and ball were the articles in chief

[1] G. B. Earp, *Report Committee on N.Z.* (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1844, xiii, 2041).

[2] W. H. Breton, *Excursions in N.S.W.*, 1833, 184. But cf. Saxe Bannister (*Journal Statistical Society*, i, 1838) who states that in 1836, there were from 1,800–2,000 British subjects in New Zealand, and that in evidence before the House of Lords Commission it was said that " European settlers have increased wonderfully of late ". In this year 151 ships visited the Bay of Islands. A petition addressed to William IV, in 1837, stated that several Europeans had lived in New Zealand for twenty years, by which time their total numbers amounted to 500 persons north of the Thames alone.

[3] J. Savage, *New Zealand* 57.

[4] *Missionary Register*, 1815, 484. For notes on introduction of European agricultural tools and food plants, *v.* Best, *Maori Agriculture*, 45–6, 145 et seq.

demand. These were obtained in exchange for *kauri* spars—in the North—fish, *muka* (dressed flax), *kumara* (sweet potato), articles of native workmanship, and those curiously sensational objects, preserved tattooed heads. In a remarkably short time the pig and the potato, raised from the original stock, became two of the native staples of exchange.[1]

For a number of years the trade in flax assumed quite extensive proportions in some districts, mainly as a result of the craving for arms and ammunition with which to wage war on less fortunate tribes. At this time the musket was a potent influence upon the native economy. The Ngapuhi of the North had speedily acquired firearms, and following them, Ngatiwhatua, and the terror which they inspired in other tribes led to a feverish production of goods—mainly dressed flax—in the effort to obtain them from the European traders. In 1831 five vessels brought to Sydney in three months 143 tons of prepared fibre, mostly from Cook Straits,[2] where on Kapiti Island Te Rauparaha and his Ngati Toa were established.

As an instance of the rates which obtained for European goods it may be mentioned that the people of the North Cape in 1814 agreed to give, and delivered 150 baskets of potatoes and 8 pigs for one musket.[3] At that time natives would give a large hog or even two for a small axe, and a bag of potatoes for a small piece of hoop iron to be used as a working tool.[4] A little later, parties of the Tuhoe tribe made journeys to Waikato and to the Thames to barter slaves for muskets, the rate being five slaves for one gun. At one period the traders received 5–8 cwt. of flax fibre for a musket.[5] Land was also alienated for European articles, often with considerable profit to the purchaser. Marsden, for instance, acquired about 200 acres for 12 axes,[6] while at Waitangi Kendall and Hall obtained

[1] The introduction of the pig to New Zealand had far-reaching effects upon the native economy. In the matter of fencing alone, a serious addition to labour was involved. Formerly native plantations had breakwinds, but no proper fences. These had to be carefully and strongly constructed, however, when the pig arrived. In 1827, in the Taimai district, Earle observed that there were as yet no fences, though the pigs, which formed the principal item of wealth, being supplied to vessels in trade, had to be continually watched to prevent them from raiding the crops, which were extensive. In the Bay of Islands, however, as early as 1814, the natives found it necessary to fence against the pig. (*v.* Best, *Maori Agriculture*, 18).

[2] McNab, *Murihiku*, 387.

[3] S. Marsden, Account in McNab's *Hist. Records*, i, 350.

[4] *Missionary Register*, 1814, 464; 1815, 156.

[5] Best, *Maori*, ii, 285.

[6] *Missionary Register*, 1816, 327.

50 acres of excellent land for 5 axes.[1] Goods changed hands by process of barter, since for decades there was no money economy in New Zealand, nor any medium of exchange. Such coins as were obtained by the natives were generally utilized for purposes of ornament, and in this respect the aesthetic taste of the Maori led him to prefer the shilling to the sovereign.[2] During this period the change in the Maori economic system was largely external, consisting mainly in the acquisition of new and more efficient culture accessories, and a limited substitution of them for the old native articles. The iron fish-hook tended to replace the various wooden and bone types, plain and composite, the stone adze began to give way before the obviously superior steel tool, the musket was quickly accepted as a notable addition to the ranks of weapons of war.

The economic revolution received considerable impetus from what may be called the repercussion of these wants. Joel Polack, who spent some years in New Zealand, shrewdly realized the effect of this. He writes in 1840, "Articles of European manufacture are now in continual request, together with lead, shot, balls, bullet moulds, etc. A shirt requires the nether part of its wearer to be decently encased in trousers; the thighs thus safe from exposure, kindle an affection on the part of the legs for a pair of stockings, whose soles would soon depart from the body unless remedied by boots and shoes . . . To proceed no further, we would show that however simple the wants of the people may be, yet no sooner are they possessed of one article of European manufacture, the possession of it begets additional requisites." [3]

We may now attempt to summarize the main tendencies involved in this period. To some extent the cumulative acquisition of these new culture accessories produced changes in the vital structure of the native society, but on the whole the organization of economic activity remained singularly unimpaired. It will have been observed that certain of the commodities offered in exchange for the newly-acquired goods—*kauri* spars and dressed flax, for instance—were not of primary importance in

[1] Ibid., 1817, 520.

[2] F. E. Maning, *Old N.Z.*, 1863, 2. Amusing sidelights on trading in those days are also given (6–7, 12–13, etc.). By 1840, Dumont D'Urville notes that pigs of 40 kilos or so were sold by the natives in Otaga Harbour for 16 to 18 shillings (*Voyage au Pole Sud*, ix, 129).

[3] *Manners and Customs*, i, 186–7.

the original native economic scheme. Consequently the disproportionate amount of time devoted to their production tended to throw the economic machinery out of gear. But they were still produced by ordinary native methods, and the organization of activity was carried out on the usual lines. The family or *hapu* worked under the leadership of their head man, the *tohunga* or priestly expert had his place to fill, native technical processes were largely retained, among themselves the former Maori system of exchange and distribution of goods, of ownership and acquisition of property remained practically unaffected. In brief, the normal economic structure of the people was preserved. Moreover it must be borne in mind that at this period and for a number of years afterwards, no real impression had been made upon the great mass of the country. Only at certain spots on the coastline, and those far scattered, had real contact with the native been established. Before 1840 the missionaries, both Anglican and Wesleyan, had penetrated as far south as Cook Strait, but the few inland stations established were too isolated to exert any powerful influence upon Maori culture as a whole. On reading the contemporary reports one is perhaps inclined to form too strong an impression of the extent of European influence ; it must be remembered that only the fringe of the land had been touched, and that vast regions of the interior were quite unexplored. The effect upon the economic system of the Maori and upon native culture in general was localized, and superficial at that.

In two respects, however, the contact with European civilization—such as it was—was fraught with important consequences for the Maori economic system. In the first place it familiarized the native with certain of the more general types of European goods and technical processes, gave him a new perspective in regard to the material apparatus of culture, and helped to furnish him with a new set of economic values and to arouse in him new desires and ambitions. In the second place it made him acquainted with a different system of economic standards, put before him a more individualistic outlook, and a scheme of trade and exchange regulated by entirely different principles from those which obtained in the sphere to which he was formerly accustomed. As yet he had no wish to accept these standards—he did not even try to grasp their meaning, his attention being concentrated on matters of a more direct material interest—

but the fact of their existence was at least borne in upon him as the result of practical experience.

And so we find the way paved for a deeper and more comprehensive incorporation into the native culture of the ways and notions of the alien folk, the acceptance of their goods, the adoption of their technical methods, the introduction of their money economy, the recognition of their system of ownership. To these points we shall pass in consideration of what may be summarily regarded as the second phase of the change from the old to the new economic system.

II. The Enthusiastic Adoption of Culture Forms

The first phase—that of initial impact of an alien culture upon the economic system of the Maori—may be said to end about 1840. Naturally no definite line of division can be drawn between this and the following period; no one would be foolhardy enough to maintain that the tendencies of any such social periods can be delimited by exact dates and assigned to a definite term of years. But for several reasons 1840 marks a convenient point from which to take up the consideration of a new set of factors.

In the first place this year represents the real beginning of the organized colonization of New Zealand, i.e., of a deliberate movement to settle the country, to occupy lands with the intention of residing permanently upon them, to transform, as far as possible, the natural environment in conformity with European aims and standards. With respect to the Maori economy it is obvious that here one must look for one of the most potent influences in producing cultural change. The settler differs from the trader, and also from the missionary, in one important respect, that while they are primarily concerned in dealing with the people of the country, he applies his energies to subduing the country itself. It is the slow but almost resistless advance of settlement, the ever-widening circle of bush-clearings, farms, roads and townships that holds most menace for the freedom and autonomy of the native and the retention of his characteristic social and economic structure. The initiation of the first settlement in New Zealand[1] marks the beginning of a new phase in Maori economic history.

[1] Land was first bought by the New Zealand Company at Port Nicholson in September, 1839. The earlier abortive attempts of Herd in 1826, Stewart at the same period, and of de Thierry in 1837 may be disregarded, as also the sporadic settlement of individuals from time to time in the preceding decades.

The year 1840 may also be looked upon in another way as opening a new period in the Maori economy : it marks the formal notification of the first steps towards a comprehensive European control of the native lands, a process which inevitably led to a disturbance of the economic equilibrium. To the Maori his lands were the virtual basis of his economic life ; any influence which affected his ownership or control of them was fraught with grave consequences for his future welfare. Moreover they represented not merely a matter of subsistence, but also stood for a mass of emotional values, many of ancestral significance. The cry of the Maori has ever been for the safeguarding of his land. Prior to 1840 areas had been transferred from native to European, but only as individual purchases ; now by the Treaty of Waitangi the sovereignty of the lands was handed over to the English queen. At the time this was little more than an empty phrase, practically meaningless to the native, but though for years its significant force lay in abeyance, the Treaty, if in this respect alone, implied the definite recognition by many tribes of an external authority with the right of interference with the very basis of their economic structure. As has been well said " When the Treaty was signed, sovereignty was the shadow ; the substance was the land ".[1] But with the passing years the shadow grew great, and bade fair to cast its gloom over the hearts of the Maori people. From time to time the powers of the English authority were utilized—through the Native Land Court, Acts of Parliament, and even armed intervention—to produce far-reaching modifications in the relation of the native to the soil. I pass no criticism here of our native land policy ; it is sufficient for my purpose to record the facts. These radical changes were by no means foreseen in 1840, but the Treaty represents the first overt acknowledgment of the interest of external authority in the foundation-stone of the native economic system.

This second phase of transition was characterized by a greatly increased demand for European goods, and an enthusiastic adoption of many of the ways and customs of the white man. Clothes, previously worn mainly by scholars of the mission, now began to oust native garments in earnest, and even to replace the ubiquitous blanket, which had achieved popularity from the fact that, though no cheaper than the Maori cloak, it was very

[1] Shrimpton and Mulgan, *Maori and Pakeha*, 200.

much warmer. Tobacco was enjoyed by nearly everyone, almost without distinction of sex or age, iron or steel implements and tools had a much wider sphere of employment, and money came into use as a medium for conducting transactions.[1]

A reference to the reports of contemporary observers will best illustrate the nature of the change. In regard to clothing that pioneer newspaper, the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, remarks of the natives (29th August, 1846), "The blanket is no longer the highest object of their ambition, other articles of European dress are eagerly sought after." Agriculture after the *pakeha* method now began to occupy their attention. Thus the issue of the same date notes that at Manawatu large quantities of wheat were grown by the natives, and that "their increasing cultivation requires new implements and creates new wants". Spades, sickles, sacks and the like found their way up the river from time to time, and the people also planned to build weatherboard barns in which to store and thresh the wheat. A year later (20th February, 1847) the same journal records the building of two water mills for grinding flour at Taranaki. The price to be paid for their erection and machinery was 300 pigs for the one and 200 pigs for the other, the value of a pig being approximately £1. This indicates that the money economy had not yet fully replaced barter. The natives themselves sawed all the timber and did all the work towards the formation of the mill-dam. In January of that year a meeting of natives was held at Otaki to consider the construction of a mill. At Rangiaohia (28th July, 1847), one of these structures was erected at a cost of £200, this being subscribed by the natives in £1 shares. Here again they sawed all the timber themselves. At this time they were also busily engaged in sowing wheat in the hopes of a trunk road passing through their district and being able to supply the labourers with flour. They were highly pleased with the mill, and speedily acquired the knowledge to enable them to run it themselves. Two years later, 28th November, 1849, the newspaper records the anxiety of other natives to obtain mills. A return presented by the Governor showed 6 mills erected within a circle of 50 miles round Otawhao, at a cost of £1,160. One was also in course of erection on the upper

[1] G. B. Earp notes that natives used to bring money to be put into the safe to be locked up, but that they then used to come over once a week and ask to be allowed to look at it. (*Parl. Papers*, 1844, xiii, 2045).

Waipa, and Ngati-Maniapoto tribe were assembling to reside at Mohoaonui in order to turn their attention to the construction of another. They raised the necessary funds by a general contribution, to which each *hapu* supplied its quota, one chief giving £7—no mean sum for a Maori in those days. At Taupo on the Thames, again, at some time prior to 1855, the chief Te Kahukoti and his tribe erected a flour mill costing between four hundred and five hundred pounds.[1]

In agriculture great progress was made, and coastal tribes often owned vessels in which they conveyed their produce to the European market. As early as 1844, it was reported that the natives at Whareturere raised large quantities of wheat and had many stacks around their lands, while in the same year the tribe at Opotiki were observed to be in possession of two small vessels, and the people of Whakatane of a third.[2] In 1857 the Bay of Plenty, Taupo and Rotorua natives—being about 8,000 people—had upwards of 3,000 acres of land in wheat, 3,000 acres in potatoes, nearly 2,000 acres of maize and upwards of 1,000 acres of *kumara*. They owned nearly 1,000 horses, 200 head of cattle, 5,000 pigs, 4 water-power mills and 96 ploughs, as well as 43 coasting vessels averaging nearly 20 tons each, and upwards of 900 canoes. In the course of the same year the Ngatiporou from East Cape to Turanga supplied 46,000 bushels of wheat to the English traders, at a value of £13,000.[3] In 1860, according to the official statistical return, the natives of eastern Canterbury—480 in number—owned 205 horses, 214 head of cattle, 197 pigs, and had 51 acres of wheat and 56 acres of potatoes under cultivation. As the years wore on it became a regular practice for the Maori of certain districts to supply the European town population with both major and minor foodstuffs. As early as 1842, Bishop Selwyn writes that for potatoes, maize, leeks, *kumara*, pork and firewood the English people at Nelson were almost entirely dependent upon native supplies.[4] Two stockingsful of wheat were brought to the East Coast in 1843, and being planted, yielded a good harvest. By 1856, large areas of the grain were under cultivation; so much so

[1] C. O. B. Davis, *Maori Mementos*, 117.
[2] *Missionary Register*, Nov., 1844.
[3] W. Swainson, *New Zealand*, 65–6. According to Gilbert Mair the Arawa people owned about 20 of the above-mentioned type of small sailing craft in the early 'sixties (*Reminiscences*, 22).
[4] A. Selwyn, *Visitation Journal*, 47.

that after supplying their own wants, the natives had a large surplus of produce, of which they disposed to Europeans.[1] The natives of Auckland, coming from their settlements around the Hauraki Gulf in canoes or half-decked sailing boats used to sell large quantities of fruit, pumpkins, maize, potatoes, *kumara,* and pigs, and also supplied nearly all the fish for the town. Schnapper were sold at one shilling a bundle of three to six fish, while flax kits of thirty to seventy peaches went for the same price. In a single year 1792 native canoes entered Auckland harbour, bringing to market by this means alone 200 tons of potatoes, 1,400 baskets of onions, 1,700 baskets of maize, 1,200 baskets of peaches, besides very many tons of firewood, fish, pigs, and *kauri* gum.[2]

The enthusiasm of the native for the commodities, ideas and economic methods of the *pakeha* (white man) was very marked. In the first few decades of last century the natives of the Urewera district used to drive pigs from Ruatahuna to Auckland—some 150 miles—in order to obtain European goods.[3] Again, an early traveller records having met at Taupo a chief who came from Te Whaiti with pigs and mats, a report that double-barrelled guns were plentiful at Whanganui having induced him to bring his stock and goods this great distance in order to get the coveted *tupara,* which he could not obtain from traders on the East Coast.[4] In 1852 the Surveyor-General reported to the Government that the natives were " improving " in respect to the acquisition of property and that " they seem to have started with an energy quite surprising in the pursuit of gain . . . all other pursuits seem merged in habits of thrift ". Old persons might be seen in groups around the evening fire chatting about the appearance of crops and all subjects concerned with them, while the women made baskets to carry grain or potatoes, or plaited leg-ropes for driving their pigs to market.[5]

One gathers, however, that the motive behind this was not always purely utilitarian. The industrial spur of the old Maori economy, the desire for emulation, still remained active. Thus

[1] *Church Missionary Intelligencer,* 1856, 150.
[2] W. Swainson, op. cit., 66 ; H. B. Morton, *Recollections,* 24.
[3] Best, *T.N.Z.I.,* xxxv, 1902, 87.
[4] E. J. Wakefield, *N.Z. Gazette and Britannia Spectator,* 23rd Mar., 1842.
[5] Quoted M. Holmes, " Social Position of the Maories," *Contemp. Review,* 1909, vol. 96, 614–17.

often one of the most engrossing subjects that could be broached in conversation was the relative merits of two mill sites, of over- or under-shot wheels, and the best means of raising £200 or £300, all in order to build a mill which should grind more than the one erected by a rival tribe![1] In consequence of this rivalry and the excitement which it raised, the work was often hastily completed, and unskilled or unprincipled workmen were employed, thereby resulting in considerable loss to the natives.

Not only tools and staple food products, but also the white man's luxuries entered into the economic purview of the Maori. It is interesting to observe that even in 1842 Selwyn records that the "salutary practice" of washing was gaining ground among the natives, and that the use of soap was rapidly superseding that of red ochre and grease.

There is no space here to chronicle other aspects of the radical change in economic life and organization which swept along with such rapidity during these two decades 1840–1860. It will be best now to try and extricate from the somewhat bewildering mass of detail the main tendencies at work.

By 1860, it is clear that the forces of European acculturation were shaking the native system to its foundations. All the staple commodities of the *pakeha* had been extensively adopted, as well as many of his luxury goods. In food and clothing at all events, the habits of the Maori had become assimilated quite closely to those of his white neighbour. This change was not confined to the sphere of consumption. More important still, from the point of view of the integrity of the economic structure, is the widespread adoption of European technical equipment in production, which is one of the most characteristic features of this period. Even in 1840 iron tools for tillage appear to have wholly replaced the former native ones, and twenty years later steel adzes, chisels, saws, gimlets, hammers, and a variety of other implements were in constant use. In agriculture, totally new methods were in vogue. Formerly the fields had been cultivated everywhere by groups of men, who, working in time to a chant raised by a leader, turned over the soil with wooden digging sticks. Now the steel spade had been introduced, and

[1] *Further Papers rel. to N.Z.*, 1854. G. B. Earp also remarks (1844, op. cit., 2041) that when natives acquired wealth they often invited a distant tribe to visit them, and then presented to them the whole of their earnings—perhaps for three months' work—through vanity and a desire to impress these other people.

in many districts the white man's plough was used for breaking up the ground. In the Waikato teams of working bullocks were kept and drays drawn by horses were employed for carting produce to market and for general transport. While these people of the interior had acquired a fairly wide range of farming and other technical equipment, the tribes of the Bay of Plenty, as previously noted, had also become the owners of a number of small sailing vessels of European type, which they manned themselves, and in which they carried cargoes of their produce up and down the coast to the chief marketing centres. Other mechanical accessories were in eager request. Thus the successive adoption by a number of tribes of water mills with which to grind their wheat has already been considered. These mills were obtained either by purchase, or as a gift from a paternal Governor. They were often erected by native workmen and run by their Maori owners, and though perhaps some criticism may be passed on the score of their efficiency, their construction and management indicate the extent to which the Maori productive system had become affected in some districts by European culture. Moreover they are of interest as a manifestation of that particular psychological attitude of enthusiastic reception of the alien culture, of the clamouring eagerness for the trappings of the alien civilization, which often appears to characterize the native in this second phase of contact.

Coupled with this there was a feeling of self-reliance. There was a widespread desire on the part of the native tribes to secure the results of European enterprise and skill, but to retain at the same time their economic independence. And it was thought that this could be done by learning all that the white man had to teach, both in the matter of schooling and of technical and manual training. The results were evident. We find natives employed in many capacities not merely as unskilled labourers, but as carpenters, joiners, sawyers, blacksmiths, storemen, wheelwrights, and other workmen, and proving themselves deft, skilful, and industrious. As the data quoted have shown, produce of varied kinds was extensively raised by natives. Large areas of wheat, maize, and potatoes were under cultivation, while different kinds of vegetables, peaches, and other fruit were grown, and not only served to feed their producers, but were sold in large quantities to the European community. A thriving trade sprang up between the natives and the white shopkeepers

and merchants. Stock were also kept in fairly large numbers, particularly pigs, cattle, and horses. Taken as a whole the Maori seemed well on the way to economic prosperity.

This change in material culture can be correlated to a certain extent with a change in the less tangible sphere of economic organization. It is probable that the main bases of the structure remained for a time unimpaired. The communal aspect of the native economic life was still retained; the coastal vessels of the Arawa and Ngai-te-rangi were the property of the tribe, the chief still retained his place as guardian or trustee of the interests of his people; the customs of hospitality, of the reciprocal giving of feasts were adhered to, the production of such items as the fishing seine-nets of largest size was still the affair of the community, and the distribution of the product of communal labour was still carried out on the old principles. But with all this, several changes of far-reaching effect had taken place. The native had become accustomed to the practices of a money economy, had learnt the principles of bargaining according to European fashion, and had begun to produce largely, not only for the needs of himself, relatives, and guests, but to exchange against the wares of the white trader. It may be thought, in passing, that the idea of advantage in exchange would have been but slowly developed in such transactions, owing to the former Maori practice of gift-exchange. As far as one may gather, however, from the accounts of the earliest reliable observers who had experience of the Maori in trade, he was fully alive to the possibilities of a bargain, and the idea of gaining by exchange—even by cheating, if need be—was by no means absent from his scheme of economic ideation. Again, the habit of natives of going off to towns or to white farmers to seek individual employment tended to break down the close group organization which distinguished the Maori of former days. And the tendency to individualize the expenditure of the resulting wages also grew. On the other hand, the practice of moving as a whole family to seek employment tended to counteract this, but on account of its inconveniences this system was often not encouraged by the white employer. Gradually the idea of individual responsibility, never entirely absent from native practice, began to gain ground and to become a more conscious principle in economic affairs and the administration of social justice.

From what has been stated so far it may be thought that the course of Europeanization of the Maori economic system was proceeding smoothly, as the result of a process of gradual replacement. But, unfortunately, disturbing factors were at work, tending to mar the unanimity of feeling between the two races. In his enthusiastic acceptance of European culture-accessories and institutions the Maori had not perceived their full implications—the fundamental modifications of his own economic system which the new elements, once introduced, necessarily brought in their train. This last follows naturally from the organic unity proper to every economic system. One part cannot be accepted and another rejected at will. As the extent of these modifications became apparent to the Maori, as he began to feel the weight of the new fetters which so unwittingly he had rivetted upon himself, the spirit of revolt arose within him—a revolt the more fierce the more inevitable his position appeared to become. Increasingly confined territory, conformity to an alien scheme of working periods, enforced observance of novel property regulations, recognition of solely individual responsibility—all such things fretted him sorely. This antagonistic mood was strengthened among the wiser and more orderly natives —and there were many such—by observance of the unruly conduct and absence of the old-time restraint and decorum which contact with Europeans apparently bred in the Maori young people. These and other causes of discontent came to be focussed on the matter of land, which has always acted as a rallying point for the sentiment of the Maori people. It was thought that if only the encroachment of the *pakeha* could be prevented, if only the land could be retained, then the other disturbing elements would be held in check, and all would be well.

The disposal of native land is a perennial problem in New Zealand. Even in 1840 it was stated that some of the minor chiefs of the Bay of Islands had sold nearly the whole of their estates, so much so that they had not sufficient ground remaining upon which to grow food. With the progress of settlement came further alienation, involving a radical change in the economic life of the natives concerned, and, rendering the position even more acute, continual efforts on the part of colonists and Government to induce somewhat reluctant tribes to sell. The evidence already brought forward to show the relation of the native to his ancestral lands (Chapter XI) makes it clear that the depth

A. MAORI MOTHER AND CHILD

This shows the mothod of carrying the child by folding it in the cloak across the back.

B. AN OLD LADY OF OHINEMUTU

Maori women have long borne an affection for the pipe, introduced soon after the arrival of Europeans.

[*face p.* 464

and reality of the sentiment involved, and the complex nature of the tribal system of ownership, threw many difficulties in the way of a ready sale. Moreover, with the passage of time there grew up a deep-rooted dissatisfaction with the results of the exercise by the Crown of its pre-emptive right of purchase, and a desire on the part of a large section of the natives to retain their territory inviolate. Opposed to this attitude from the side of the colonists was the strong desire—in fact the virtual need—for more land, and the sight of many fertile acres lying idle in native hands, coupled with an almost complete and tragic lack of understanding of the Maori point of view. With these irreconcilable aims, added to the other economic and social maladjustments already mentioned, it is little wonder that the resulting friction led to open hostility.

With the conduct of the war it is for the historian, not for the economist or anthropologist to deal.[1]

As time went on, religious factors were added to the original forces, but in any event the consequences were grave for the economic prosperity of the Maori. The struggle affected the major part of the North Island, and involved on one side or the other most of the leading tribes; it embittered the natives opposed to us, who believed they were fighting against the land-greed of the *pakeha*; it destroyed their faith in him and his works, and shook their confidence in themselves. And so we come to the third phase of the transition from the old to the new Maori economy.

III. The Mood of Reaction

When the last embers of the war finally died out in 1872, most of the native tribes were sadly disillusioned. Land had been confiscated from a number of them—even, through a blunder, from some who assisted us—their houses, goods, and stock had been partially or wholly consumed, their cultivations were neglected, and a large part of their fixed capital, in the shape of drays, mills, farm implements, and sailing vessels had been allowed to fall into disrepair. The material apparatus of production had been thrown out of gear, and their economic resources were at a very low ebb. They foresaw a dark future, with the white

[1] For discussion on the causes and events of the Maori Wars from 1864 onwards, v. J. Gorst, *The Maori King*, 1864; J. Cowan, *Maoris of N.Z.*, 1910, *Kimble Bent*, 1911, *N.Z. Wars and the Pioneering Period*, 2 vols., 1922–3. For a simple, frank statement of certain aspects by a native chief, *v.* the little pamphlet of Hitiri te Paerata, *The Battle of Orakau*, 1888.

man continually a growing power in the land, for ever encroaching on their territory.[1] In a trial of strength they had proved that even by force of arms they could not hope ultimately to hold the European in check. In this hour of bitterness there was a distinct reaction against *pakeha* ways, and in some tribes a very definite withdrawal from all contact with their former economy. The process of civilization had gone too far for all the white man's goods to be renounced, but the ideal which the despondent Maori hugged to himself was that of a purely native territory wherein he might live his own life without interference from the *pakeha* beyond the borders. So the Maori King and his supporters stayed sullenly behind the *Aukati*—the boundary line, and severed all connexion with Government, towns, and traders. White men who ventured over the border were ill-treated, the name of " surveyor " was anathema, and one or two incautious intruders were incontinently shot.

Theoretically, at any rate, a policy of complete economic and political seclusion was enforced in the central district of the North Island. The Natives of the North, of the Rotorua Lakes, of the major part of the East Coast and certain other districts, however, did not adopt the extreme position of the Maori of the King Country. Some, like Ngapuhi and Ngatiwhatua, had remained unaffected by the war; others, like Arawa, Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati-Porou, and some of Whanganui, had even been actively engaged on the side of the Queen, and were therefore on quite friendly terms with the European. No such definite economic set-back was experienced by these people, but even here, though the material position was not so dark, the general psychological attitude was much the same.

All was not constantly sadness and gloom in those days. The Maori still grew his maize and his potatoes, raised his pigs and cattle, snared forest-birds,[2] rode to *tangi* and feast, and shook

[1] For instance the Native Land Court, set up in 1866, was viewed with distinct suspicion. Thus a Memorial presented to the Queen by Tawhiao, Patara te Tuhi, Te Wheoro, and other influential chiefs in 1884, says of it, " The Native Land Court was instituted in the year 1866 by the Government, and that measure for dealing with Maori lands was adopted in order to destroy the rights of the Maoris over their own lands " (Appendix to Lindsay Buick's *Treaty of Waitangi*, 314). This idea, however wrong-headed, indicates the trend of native opinion.

[2] I have been told that there was to some extent a reversion to former methods of production at this time. Thus in the King Country immediately after the war, when powder was scarce, the old methods of bird-snaring were vigorously revived.

the earth with the stamp of his foot in the *haka*. But, with the more thoughtful of the people, especially the elders, consideration of their economic and political situation evoked a profound despondency. A note of depression continually sounded in their hearts. They saw, or imagined they saw, the end of their race drawing near. "As the *pakeha* rat drove out the Maori rat, as the introduced grasses drove out the Maori fern, so will the Maori die out before the white man," such, as expressed in the oft-quoted saying, was the burden of their thought. This feeling was complicated, too, by their magico-religious attitude—a situation admirably explained by Elsdon Best—whereby they believed that by forsaking the ancient system of *tapu* and adopting the ways of the white man, they had degraded the sacred vital principle of their race and were therefore bound to lose their hold on life.[1]

This mental attitude reacted upon their economic activities, as upon other aspects of life, and led to stagnation, lack of interest in work, and a carelessness and disregard of provision for the future. To this must be largely attributed their lack of prosperity and tendency to decrease in numbers.[2] With this was associated a shaken confidence in the European ; his motives were suspect, his example discredited. There is no doubt but that during this period the economic development of the race suffered a severe check, owing to the mood of reaction engendered by the uncompromising nature of the change and culminating in the war with its still more unpalatable effects. From this dark state of mind and the correlated economic position the recovery was slow.

About the year 1880, however, the tide began to turn. In the last decade the sphere of influence of the Europeans had been rapidly expanding. Settlement had progressed, communication with the natives became more frequent, and a revived interest in European goods and European ways gradually set in. Even in the King Country, where Tawhiao and his followers had sat with averted face, a more friendly feeling was made to prevail. A policy of conciliation was adopted, the seclusion of their land

[1] Consideration of such native ideas on the decline of their race is given by Best, *Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori* (D.M. Mon. 2), 23–4, etc. ; *Maori*, ii, 38–9.

[2] The influence of mental depression as a factor which adversely affects the survival of a native people has been demonstrated by W. H. R. Rivers (*Depopulation of Melanesia*, 1922, 24–6, 101–2, etc.). A brilliant study of the factors responsible for the decline of native peoples, especially in the Pacific, is given by Capt. G. Pitt-Rivers, *The Clash of Culture*, 1927.

was broken by the arrangement with the Government which enabled the latter to throw open the interior for settlement. This proceeded apace on the fertile soil thus made available, land was bought or leased from the natives in large areas, and farms, stores, creameries, and back-blocks townships rapidly began to oust the virgin bush. The rapidity of settlement in the North Island in the last four decades has been phenomenal.

The effect on the Maori of this influx of white settlers was very marked. At first taciturn and holding rather aloof, they speedily became on good terms with the new-comers. For the old people the interest lay mainly in the past. But for the younger generation hope still lay in the coming days. More and more the idea grew up that the economic future of the race lay in the conscious adoption of European methods and culture, of taking over, as far as possible, all that could be learnt of European technique and processes.

And so we are brought to the latest phase of the economic transition, that of adaptation, of awakened interest in acquiring the cultural accessories and methods of the white man.

IV. The Acceptance of European Standards

The antipathy to the European, the reaction against his customs and his goods, the mood of despondency and lost initiative passed, and from about 1880 a fairly steady movement towards economic prosperity set in, based on a revival of interest and hope. This has involved a corresponding change in the economic structure of Maori society, a change assisted by the deliberate policy of the European authority. Nowhere, perhaps, has this been more perceptible than in the sphere of land ownership and control. The native system of the communal holding of lands was found in very early days to be inconvenient to the white man, who wished to acquire an interest in them, either by process of lease or, more usually, sale. But expeditious transfer of lands required simplification of the native title. Hence we find the Native Land Act of 1862 which set up a Court, presided over by judges versed in the customs of native land ownership, and generally also in the native tongue, whose business it was to determine the title to the soil. Thus subsequent purchase was facilitated. During the war, land transactions practically ceased, but once the period of reaction was over they began again with renewed vigour. The principle of individualization has

been consistently followed, and by breaking up the old communal system of ownership this policy has contributed very largely to the great economic change that has taken place in native life in recent years. Its effects have by no means been uniformly beneficial, but of its potency as an agent of cultural transformation there can be no doubt.

At the same time by far the greater part of the Maori people continue to gain their living directly from the soil. The importance of this fact has been recognized by the Government to the extent that no sale is allowed which would totally deprive a native of all land. A certain area—small it is true—must always be retained for his own use and that of his descendants. Bearing in mind the dependence of the Maori on the land it is gratifying to find the increasing adoption of improved methods of farming. Sheep and cattle have been taken up in large numbers, and in certain parts of the country cropping has been carried on by natives with success. In 1924–25, according to the Statistical Report, exclusive of the large area of communal native land and that leased to Europeans, there were over 2,700 Maori holdings farmed on the European system. These comprised more than 805,000 acres with a cultivated area of nearly 10,000 acres. In all, the owners of these farms had as livestock 12,000 horses, 26,700 cows and heifers for dairying, with over 54,000 other head of cattle as well, and 12,000 pigs, while the sheep shorn by them that season numbered 458,000. Lack of the initial capital with which to start work has always proved a stumbling block, but one which recently has been partially removed by making advances through Maori Land Boards and the Native Trustee out of the accumulated native-owned funds in their charge. The farming methods in vogue are still rather slipshod, ploughs, harrows, Cambridge rollers, and other expensive machinery, for instance, often being allowed to stand out in the field and rust through the winter. Native fences are usually out of repair, and their horses and other stock often in poor condition—all of which will be admitted by anyone who knows the Maori. At the same time distinct signs of improvement have been noticeable in the last decade or so, and in certain districts, notably that of Ngatiporou, the farms of the native are excellently managed and can stand comparison with those of the European.

This latest phase of Maori economic development has also

seen the entry of natives into trades and professions, while the majority of their children receive education, many in secondary as well as primary schools. The adoption of European clothes might be taken as one index of the economic transition—in the last forty years the normal costume of the white race has been almost completely taken over. Many people will remember the gaudy silk blouse which used to adorn the Maori matron of a few years ago, but which has since given way to clothes of a quieter hue, in conformity with all the canons of European taste. The house of European type, though not always of equal comfort—or cleanliness—has now replaced almost wholly the Maori *whare* of earlier years. The *whare runanga,* the meeting-house, still survives in most native villages, but though its general form remains the same, its beauty of decoration and workmanship have fared sadly in the conflict with European ideas. The wood-carving is stiff, flat, and characterless compared with that of olden days, in spite of the superior tools employed, while the artistic, neat, simple-coloured reed-panels have too often been contaminated by overloaded patterns, and garish hues, applied to the substitute of machine-fluted boards. The introduction of crude European motifs often succeeds in giving a raw, amateurish air to the interior decoration.[1]

The characteristic features of this latest period of economic adjustment of the Maori to civilization are the marked renewal of productive effort, and the almost complete adoption of at least the material accessories of the white man's culture. In economic organization, too, as distinct from goods and technical processes, a somewhat similar change has taken place. The assumption of individual responsiblity has been more pronounced, and the central stimuli of the old communal system have been largely removed. The chief as economic leader and the priest as economic adviser no longer exert the important influence which they did in former days. Magic as the correlative of economic activity has practically disappeared, and the system of communal work and communal sharing of produce which obtained in certain departments of economic enterprise has largely passed away. With the deliberate policy of land individualization, with the

[1] *v.* Te Rangi Hiroa, "Maori Decorative Art," *T.N.Z.I.*, liii, 452–70, for reed-work panels; Raymond Firth, "The Maori Carver," *J.P.S.*, xxxiv, 277–91, for characteristics of former carving. The influence of European culture upon Maori art is well discussed by Captain Geo. Pitt-Rivers, "A Visit to a Maori Village," *J.P.S.*, xxxiii, reprinted as ch. xii of his *Clash of Culture*, 1927.

full acceptance of the white man's legal code—except perhaps in the case of marriage—and the complete adoption of a money economy, together with other less tangible effects of the permeation of native culture by European concepts, the kinship group, a one-time unit of great economic importance, has lost much of its former cohesion. It still functions on ceremonial occasions of death or rejoicing, it still plays a by no means negligible part in economic life, but its power has declined. Each man has begun to work individually, cultivating his own portion of land, selling the produce, and spending the proceeds on himself and his immediate family. The transition from the communal to the individual economy is not complete, but it certainly has received a great impetus, becoming plainly manifest in this latest phase of the economic readjustment.

The effects of this change have not always been to the advantage of the native. The decay of the old communal spirit in industry, with its emulative aspect, its deference to public opinion and the word of elders, has removed many of the former safeguards of efficient work. Disorganization and neglect have resulted from the breakdown of the system of *tapu*, which, as has been shown in a former chapter, used to set the seal of importance upon work and induce an attitude of responsibility. With the dissipation of this aura of *tapu* which surrounded agriculture, for instance, a great incentive to punctuality and carefulness was removed, with the inevitable result. As Archdeacon Walsh notes,[1] the crops were often in consequence set too late, or under the wrong weather conditions, and neglected while growing. And the loss of position on the part of chief and *tohunga* (skilled craftsman) meant that their expert advice often went unheeded. But in the twenty years which have elapsed since Walsh wrote, these drawbacks have been partially overcome, and the economic position has definitely improved.

Summary

To summarize in brief compass the main trend of the events considered in this retrospect, it may be said that the economic history of the Maori since he came into contact with the European may be roughly differentiated into four phases.

[1] Walsh, "The Passing of the Maori," *T.N.Z.I.*, xl, 1907. Though the conclusions drawn in this paper as to the future of the Maori race are unduly gloomy, the analysis of conditions during the past century is extremely acute. The destructive influence upon the native of European civilization, even in its best-intentioned aspects, is clearly shown.

First came the period of initial impact, characterized by a keen demand for certain specific types of articles, and lasting from the period of the early voyagers till about 1840. During this time the native economic structure appears to have remained practically unimpaired.

The second phase was marked by an enthusiastic adoption of the alien material culture, coupled with the extensive use of European productive methods. In some of the most important districts agricultural products of great variety were grown by the natives, and exchanged for a wide range of European wares. This period was marked by the introduction of a money economy, and by the sinking of native wealth in certain specialized mechanical forms of fixed capital, such as mills, farm implements, or sailing vessels. This period saw no diametrical alteration in the organization of productive effort or in the system of distribution. Most of the fixed capital was owned communally, by a tribe or smaller group of relatives, and controlled by the chief of the *hapu*. In his hands, also, lay much of the direction of the work of the community. This period ended soon after 1860.

The next phase was one of stagnation and reaction, due primarily to social friction and land troubles, precipitated by war between the European and a section of the native race. It was characterized by the withdrawal of a large number of natives from active contact with the white man, by dejection and apathy in regard to constructive effort and the economic prospects for the future. The older people, especially, showed a lack of incentive and interest in life. Little change in economic structure appears to have manifested itself in this period, which, including the years of war, lasted approximately from 1860 till 1880.

The fourth phase, of which the tendencies are revealing, perhaps, an increased impetus in the last few years, is one of renewed productive effort. Heralded by a conciliatory policy, it has been stimulated by the opening up of large areas of land to European settlement. The native has shown a revived interest in all forms of commercial enterprise, and has displayed a conscious desire for the adoption of European economic methods. The former Maori material culture has been largely replaced by that of the white man, and the old economic structure has given way in corresponding fashion. Assisted by the deliberate policy of individualizing the shares in tribal land, the former

communal system has been gradually abandoned, as no longer suited to the new social environment.

The main threads running through the economic fabric of Maori society in the different phases of its contact with white culture have now been revealed. The treatment has of necessity been sketchy and the conclusions of a summary nature, while the discussion of certain topics which bulk large in the usual history books has been almost wholly omitted. The nature of the main thesis has rendered this course imperative.

Mechanism of Culture Change

After this retrospective survey of the different phases of Maori economic history in the last one hundred and fifty years, we may turn to an analysis of the mechanism of the actual culture change. Here the problem is virtually to see not so much what the change was, but how it was accomplished, and to ascertain the relation of the different aspects of culture to one another during the process of transformation. The results of this examination may help to shed light upon one side of the vexed question of culture contact.

If one studies the manner in which the transformation in the economic structure of Maori society was effected, one perceives a certain time sequence in the adoption of the different culture elements. It seems clear that the material apparatus of the new civilization was the first feature to be taken over by the native, the technical processes of production following next, and the new beliefs and institutions bringing up the rear. Steel tools, potatoes, pigs, blankets, maize, muskets, and flour were enthusiastically demanded almost from the first moment of contact. The processes involved in the repairing of implements, the marketing of produce, the growing of wheat or the milling of it, came much later, whereas the modifications in the communal system of industry, the use of a money economy, and the incorporation into native life of such institutions as banks, joint-stock companies, and written contracts is of comparatively recent development.

Here then we seem to have indications of a fundamental principle of culture change in the economic field. Of its general truth there appears to be little doubt, and a set of reasons may be readily found to explain why this should be so. When primitive people come into contact with the representatives of a "higher" race, i.e., according to current standards, a race

possessed of a much more efficient material apparatus, they readily perceive the greater utility of many of the new objects. No sooner did the Maori see the effect of a steel axe than he at once perceived its possibilities, and its superiority over his own stone or nephrite blade. It is recorded that one native, seeing such a tool for the first time, became so fired at the prospect that, laying hands upon it, he tested it vigorously upon the most suitable object in sight—the mast of the sailing vessel on whose decks he stood! In view of the obviously superior utility of the iron tool, the blanket, and the musket, each in its own sphere, the rapidity with which they replaced the corresponding native articles is not difficult to understand. But the adoption of a technical process is another matter; its successful use requires time and careful training. Beliefs and institutions and the form of organization peculiar to a society tend to be still more rigid; in a test of utility they may compare favourably with their European prototypes. Reference to the criterion of practical utility, then, supports the generalization noted. Material accessories; technical process; form of organization; belief and institution—such would appear to be a summary of the order of transfusion of culture elements. It is a principle the simplicity of which commands attention, since it is only by the formulation of such general statements on the basis of observation of *historical* (not conjectural) instances that we can ever hope really to understand the phenomena of culture change and the laws which govern them.

But before acceptance, such generalizations must always be fully tested by all the facts at command. Let us set aside for a moment, however, the direct examination of the validity of this principle of culture contact, and consider in turn some of the most characteristic aspects in which the modification of the Maori economic structure has manifested itself. This will also enable us to dig a little deeper into the nature of the relations between these various aspects.

The first is that of the substitution of culture accessories. It is clear that the adoption of a new set of material goods into any society tends to drive out of use the articles formerly employed. Thus iron tools are substituted for stone, greenstone, and obsidian; the shot-gun is used instead of the bird-snare; the blanket or, later, the European garment takes the place of the native kilt and cloak. Sometimes the old article partially

retains its place side by side with the new, as in the case of the *kumara* and the potato. An interesting example of the substitution of goods and replacement of values is afforded by the greenstone adze—a fact once pointed out to me by Mr. Best.

Before the coming of the *pakeha* (white man) these adzes were greatly prized, not only for their material, which was rare, but for their utility in woodwork and carving, since they were harder and would take a better edge than the ordinary stone. Later, however, with the introduction of iron tools, they were no longer of great importance as implements. But as greenstone they were still valued, consequently they were turned into the next most suitable form of wealth—namely, ornament. Numbers of these prized *pounamu* adzes were made into *heitiki*, that grotesque neck ornament of which the proportions lent themselves to manufacture from the adze. Examples are to be seen in museums, acquired in the early days, of greenstone adzes, grooved in the shape of half-formed *tiki*. As an illustration of the conversion of economic values owing to the pressure of culture contact this is worthy of note.

Correlated with the substitution of European for native material products is the decay of economic tradition. As has been shown in the earlier chapters of this book, with every economic activity is associated an intricate system of technical instruction, and, allied with this, a number of magical spells and rites and mythological tales. These are handed down from one craftsman to another within the tribe, often from father to son, and are inculcated by a rigorous system of education. The discontinuance of the production of an article means that the technical knowledge associated with it is allowed to lapse, and the whole magical and mythological system loses its *raison d'être*. It likewise, then, tends to disappear. Consider, for instance, the abandonment of the native cloak in favour of the ubiquitous blanket, or later still, of the normal European clothing. There was much economic lore connected with the weaving of garments, knowledge of fibres and dyes, of the preparation of warp and weft, and of the technical operations involved in the actual weaving. The *tapu* of weaving lay heavy also, and there were many magical observances proper to it, as well as a body of mythology connected with Hine-te-iwaiwa, the patroness of the art. All this has tended to be forgotten with the adoption of the alien garments.

In another sphere a somewhat similar effect on technical processes and magical beliefs was produced by the raising of pigs, and, later, cattle. These yielded flesh food in large quantities and so lessened the need for the bird and the rat, the staples of pre-European days. With the diminishing importance of these latter for the food supply, the knowledge of how to take them began to disappear, and the system of associated magical regulation decayed *pari passu*. In some isolated places the art of bird-snaring may be still practised, but few tribes now use it, and most of the lore pertaining to the forest of Tane is unknown to the young Maori of to-day.

In short, correlated with every change in material culture, we find a change in economic tradition, in technical process, and in the domain of magic and mythology.

A suggestion may be put forward in regard to the decay of magic, and the way in which it is affected by certain elements of white culture. Agriculture may be taken as an example. The European system of cropping has gradually supplanted the native mode of cultivation; grains have come in, and contest the field with the tuber; the plough, the harrow, the drill, and the roller have taken the place of *ko* and *timu*, and even chemical manures have been called in to increase the chances of a successful yield. But the agricultural magic formerly so prominent in economic life is hardly to be seen, save perhaps in one or two isolated observances. One influence contributing to this state of affairs is the increase of knowledge. By making use of the white man's technique and experience in agricultural pursuits the native is better enabled to guard against the incalculable element in the forces of nature. Now one function of economic magic, as Dr. Malinowski has demonstrated, is to supply the psychological strength and assurance needed to fill the gap in knowledge, or in other words to give confidence in the face of the unknown. But with the increased control over nature afforded by European methods, there is less need for supernatural support. Hence, the more rational understanding of natural process gained by contact with white culture tends to supplant magical belief and rite in economic affairs.

The social and economic organization, also, does not remain unaffected by a change in material culture. To return to the making of cloaks, a skilled weaver commanded a great social reputation, and rightly so, for her art was one which demanded

certain qualities of care, patience, deftness, and artistic taste which were not possessed by everyone. At the same time the weaving of various articles was one of the tasks which fell to the lot of nearly every woman. It was part of her share of the household duties. The decay of the art as a practical means of providing garments involved its disappearance from the woman's scheme of labour. Garments were obtained from another source, in exchange for other commodities, and in this manner the equilibrium of household duties was disturbed; the economic organization within the family was affected. Weaving reverted from the status of a necessary task to that of a leisure-time occupation, a matter of choice, as it is to-day among the native women of Tuhoe and Whanganui. Thus from the point of view of communal incentives, one means of acquiring social reputation was removed, the ambition to attain fame as a weaver became stultified. The *whare-pora*—a figurative term signifying the institution by which instruction was imparted to novices—ceased to fulfil any important function and practically disappeared. Moreover, certain types of inter-tribal exchange in which *kaitaka* cloaks of fine quality were the principal medium could no longer occur. It is plain, then, that the effects of the substitution of European garments for native clothing were not confined to the sphere of material culture alone, but were far reaching in other aspects of economic life as well.

Another interesting instance of the repercussion between a newly introduced culture object and social conditions is the oft-quoted case of the musket. In brief, the natives eagerly desired firearms and gave *muka*, flax fibre, in exchange. So keen became the race for arms, that all members of the tribe were forced to toil with feverish energy to provide the necessary supply of fibre. This diversion of labour from ordinary economic pursuits resulted in a serious disturbance of the equilibrium of production and reacted adversely upon their social state. In order more easily to cope with the situation the natives in many cases changed the site of their village from high ground to the low levels near the swamps where the flax grew, thereby producing a radical alteration in hygienic conditions. Moreover, the incessant labour in unhealthy spots, the neglect of cultivations and consequent starvation had deleterious effects upon the physique of the people. To their immersion in the work of flax-growing, cutting, and scutching is to be attributed much

of the pulmonary disease which carried off so many natives in the early decades of last century. Not only through war did the musket claim its victims.

The results of the introduction of the potato bring out with clarity the manner in which new culture items affected the economic life and even the environment of the native. The potato is of such a hardy nature that it can be grown in all districts, and, moreover, is prolific, yielding a plentiful return for the labour expended. Hence it was speedily introduced into districts which like Tuhoe had formerly possessed no cultivated foods, and also tended to replace the *kumara* among other tribes. Again, it effectively supplanted the *aruhe*, the fern root (*Pteris esculenta*), as one of the staple vegetable foods. Forest products also were neglected in its favour, with interesting results. Formerly the forest had been strictly conserved as being the source of supply of berries, birds, and rats; now, however, with the coming of the new food plant, this care became unnecessary, and year after year inroads were made upon it for potato cultivations. In some districts the forest destruction was quite marked. The potato also influenced the mode of life in other directions, since its cultivation demanded less care and attention, and so allowed more time to be devoted to other pursuits, or too often, to be spent in *dolce far niente* fashion. The falling-off in the physical fitness of the race is perhaps partly attributable to this removal of the former spur to industry.

The consideration of how changes in one aspect of culture lead to alterations in another may be extended beyond the field of pure economic causation. The new set of concepts introduced by the missionaries, for example, was instrumental in producing far-reaching modifications in the economic structure of the native. Polygamy and slavery were institutions which, though they did not bulk so large in Maori economy as with some native peoples, were still important appendages to the exercise of chieftainship. Slaves were essential to a *rangatira* to perform the menial offices of cooking for him and to assist him in productive labour, so that he was enabled to practise the hospitality due from a man of his position. But the idea of slavery was abhorrent to the mind of the missionary, and was abolished as speedily as possible, with little consideration for the probable consequences to the chief's power and social standing. And the decline of the chief's influence was instrumental to some extent in allowing

slovenliness and lack of organization to creep into Maori industry, not only from his loss of power to command but also from the lack of heed paid to his personal efforts. For in former times the men of rank were looked to, not only as directors of an enterprise, but also as leaders who would set an example for the rest. Colenso, himself a missionary, but observant and unusually well-versed in native custom, remarks on the ill-effects for the chief's power which resulted from the abandonment of the system of slavery. In kindred vein he also says " Politically speaking, had polygamy and divorce not been too early and ecclesiastically interfered with and prohibited, the New Zealanders as a nation would in all probability have been very much more numerous and better off." [1]

Mention has already been made of the decay of magic following on changes in material culture. This might be pursued still further if space allowed, into the domain of economic organization as well. For the breakdown of the system of magic involved the fall of the *tohunga*, the priestly adept who was the repository of the sacred *karakia* (spells), and who performed the most important magical rites in the economic as well as in other spheres of life. Such a *tohunga* was a notable figure in the community, and his authority might rival that of the head chief. The decay of his power meant a distinct alteration in the economic organization of Maori society.

A last illustration of the interaction of the different aspects of culture can be shown in the new twist of meaning which an ancient *whakatauki* or proverbial saying has received since the introduction of a money economy. " By feathers alone can the bird fly, by clouds are the heavens covered," said the old Maori, meaning that only by means of the proper assistance can anything be performed. To this the modern Maori has supplied a new referent, so that as used to-day, it carries the force of " money is the sinews of war ".[2]

Sufficient data have now been given to demonstrate the manner in which material culture, technique, economic organization, and belief are so intimately related, that changes in one react upon all the others. It remains now to apply this conclusion to the testing of the general principle of the time sequence of

[1] W. Colenso, *T.N.Z.I.*, i, 19, 71–2.

[2] Only a short time ago it was used in this sense in the N. Z. House of Representatives by Sir Apirana Ngata, M.P.

the adoption of culture elements. As an historical fact in the case of the Maori, the proposition first enunciated clearly holds good. The radical changes in material goods, in technical process and in economic organization have taken place in this order. But the final statement cannot be allowed to rest there. In their modification these aspects were not divorced from each other. From consideration of the most outstanding changes in Maori economic life—the adoption of the potato and the pig, iron tools, clothing, and the musket—it has been proved that with the introduction of each of these objects was correlated far-reaching changes in tradition, technique, magical belief, social authority, and economic institutions. Any formula which lays down the sequence in which the aspects of culture are replaced must always take into account this factor of interaction. That every alteration in material culture is fraught with grave consequences for the whole native economic system is a point which should be borne in mind by every white man who has been called upon—whether as missionary, educationalist, or Government administrator—to guide the destinies of a native race.

It seems probable that the sequence of phases in culture contact which has been revealed in Maori economic history may have a wider sociological import. Initial impact, enthusiastic adoption of new culture forms, reaction, and then a fresh and more deep-rooted adaptation of the economic structure —such would appear to characterize the successive modes in which contact of a primitive with a civilized people generally becomes manifest. In fact, analysis shows that the connexion between these phases is not merely fortuitous. Once the first impact has taken place, the native has discovered the potency of the new culture, and has explored the most obvious of its manifold utilities, he proceeds enthusiastically to take over a number of the most desirable elements. But though he perceives the material advantages of the new culture, he does not realize for some time its fuller and more subtle implications. In adopting new implements, entering upon trade and the production of novel foodstuffs, he does not forsee that radical alteration in the whole structure of his economic system is bound to ensue. Gradually this occurs, the less welcome features of the new economy become apparent, and gaining weight, by their cumulative effect overset the cultural balance, and give rise to a mood of reaction.

The intensity of this will vary according to the temperament and situation of the people concerned, but in their revolt they will naturally tend not only to eliminate those aspects of civilization which have provoked them, but to cast off the greater part of its other trappings as well, irrespective of their worth. In course of time, it is seen that such rejection is impracticable, the mood of reaction passes, and renewed interests spring up. Then comes the phase of adaptation in which on a foundation of knowledge rather than novelty the native tries to build up his culture with a clearer understanding of the nature of the new civilization and the complexity of the issues involved.

Chapter XV

THE MAORI COMMUNITY

Linkage of Social and Economic Life

In this final chapter we may now draw together a few of the main threads of our argument and show in brief retrospect the essential dynamic harmony of the salient principles which animated the economic life of the Maori community—this not so much by way of a summary as an indication of the possibility of applying our conclusions to the wider problems of economic anthropology and the science of human culture.

In this study, as one of functional correlations, it has been shown how the organization of labour, the system of apportionment of the product and the ownership of wealth were all linked inextricably with the specific type of social structure characteristic of the Maori. The kinship affiliations of people, for instance, deeply influenced their position in economic affairs. The existence of the *hapu* with its constituent *whanau*, the virtual coincidence of the kinship with the local group, meant the emergence of certain definite forms of association in work, in the holding of land and in the use of its products. The emphasis laid on a particular configuration of kinship ties as the basis of the society even determined the prominence of certain forms of magico-religious ceremony employed in economic undertakings. The great importance attached to such rites as the imposing or lifting of the *tapu* of land, the offering of first fruits to the gods, when performed by the *ariki* is to be correlated with the veneration accorded him as the apex of the kinship group. Economic magic, as with other forms of *karakia*, was an affair of the *hapu* or the tribe, the tribal gods, the tribal ancestors, the tribal chiefs. So also in the holding of property, the system by which the *ariki* was regarded as the guardian of the interests of his people in their land and in other major species of goods, while the minor chiefs in their turn acted as trustees for their own immediate relatives in subordinate affairs, is a reflex of the type of kinship organization which obtained.

In a primitive society there is no relationship which is of a purely economic character. The life of the community, as we

have shown, is regulated by a number of powerful forces combining and interacting with personal temperament and characteristics to shape the conduct of each individual. Now, as one feature of this study, we are able to show that the need for cohesion in the economic affairs of a primitive people is met by reinforcing the economic chain of interests by some other of these powerful cultural forces, such as the socially-inspired recognition of the claims of kinship. The native is often induced to comply with his economic responsibilities because of other social ties which he is unwilling to break. To illustrate concretely what is meant—the co-operation which is essential to a working party is secured so much more easily when the members of it are already members of the same kinship group. Their economic relationship is strengthened through their reciprocal duties and common interests in other fields. Therein lies the strength of primitive society in that it enlists the binding forces from one aspect of life to support those of another.

Hence it is that in a survey of ancient Maori life, bearing in mind, of course, the level of attainable comfort, we find no extreme poverty, no unemployed desiring work that they might live, no leisured class removed by quantity of possessions to a state of blissful idleness where to maintain the social amenities constitutes almost their only obligation. For this the communal ideal, the emphasis on the claims of kinship is largely responsible. So also in the absence of a money economy and even at times of a direct material reward for effort, the attention of the native to the standards set him by tradition and communal opinion sufficed to secure the performance of duties otherwise neglected.

At various points in the course of this work we have been able to show how the purely biological drives to action, which in one way form the root of all economic effort, are reinforced or even replaced by social forces. In matters of work it has been demonstrated that the reward for effort is not simply the object secured or the material satisfaction obtained—which may indeed go to another—but perhaps even more potent, the prestige inflated or upheld, the reputation which the man gains in the eyes of his fellows. Social motives form the great spur to economic action. In the initial preservation of food or accumulation of wealth—both being culturally valuable processes—the community throws the weight of its opinion into the balance, through traditional advice and popular appreciation, and thus

provides the due stimulus, even though such conduct is antithetic to the desires of the individual at the moment. The impulse for purely immediate physical satisfaction is restrained or inhibited. In this the rational aim of reserving a stock for future use is reinforced by the wish to enjoy the prestige which accrues to the possessor. But the social forces go further. It is in use and not in mere blank possession that value lies. And so proverbs, songs, legendary tales and the stream of public opinion all combine to extol generosity in giving, open-handedness in disposing of the wealth accumulated. In the apportionment of food, in the exchange of goods the dominance of this attitude has been proven. On the whole, then, the compulsion to work, to save, and to expend is given not so much by a rational appreciation of the benefits to be received as by the desire for social recognition, through such behaviour. The entire scheme of motivation in industry is thus lifted from the biological to the social plane. In this conversion of instinctive to cultural drives in the case of the food-producing activities of the human animal lies one of the fundamental problems for future economic study.

The survey of the various aspects of the economic organization of the Maòri has now been completed. We have stood by him in his struggle for subsistence and the sweets of life, we have followed him in his fowling, his fishing, his planting, and his other daily tasks, we have listened patiently while he sought with muttered spells and the simple ritual of magic to bend Nature to his will, we have sat by his side at the feast and have travelled with him along weary trails in search of the precious nephrite. We have watched with curious eyes his first meeting with the *Pakeha*, and have seen the tragedy and the courage of that encounter—to turn and bid him farewell at the last, not with the mourner's cry, but with the augury of a more lustrous future as a member of a community wider and more strongly knit than his fathers ever knew.

And now we may say with the native of old : " The children of Tane, the trees of the forest, have fallen "—our task is finished.

TAKOTO KAU ANA TE WHANAU A TANE.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.f.A.: *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Braunschweig.
I.A.f.E.: *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Leyden.
J.E.S.: *Journal of the Ethnological Society*, London.
J.P.S.: *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, New Plymouth, N.Z.
J.R.A.I.: *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
J.Sc.T.: *Journal of Science and Technology*, Wellington.
T.E.S.: *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, London.
T.N.Z.I.: *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, Wellington.
Z.f.E.: *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Berlin.
Z.f.S.: *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Berlin.

Other abbreviations of title used in footnotes but not specified here will be easily recognized.

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